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GERMANIC STUDIES

EDITED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

II.

I. VERNER'S LAW IN GOTHIC
II. THE REDUPLICATING VERBS IN GERMANIC

BY

FRANCIS ASBURY WOOD

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A Dissertation Presented to the
Faculty of Arts, Literature, and Science
of the University of Chicago
in Candidacy for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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INTRODUCTION.

In preparing Part I. of this work it has been my endeavor to give as exhaustively as possible all instances of the working of Verner's Law in Gothic. In Sections 1–5 comparison is made with forms in the several Germanic dialects; in Section 6, however, where the accent variation in suffixes is treated, this is not done, since it is the Gothic that is primarily considered.

In Part II. I make no attempt to give every reduplicating verb. My object is to bring forward as much proof as possible to show that the reduplicating verbs are ablauting, and to indicate how this ablaut arose.

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Other works have also been consulted, and reference is made to them where they aid in establishing any point taken in the dissertation.

My thanks are also due to Assistant Professor H. Schmidt-Wartenberg and Associate Professor Carl D. Buck for helpful suggestions and assistance in procuring material.

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I. VERNER'S LAW IN GOTHIC.

Of all the Germanic dialects Gothic is the most uniform and the most subject to leveling. Comparatively few by-forms occur. This is natural, since it represents the speech of one community, practically of one man. It is quite probable that the Gothic known to us has yielded more to *systemzwang* than the language as spoken. Certainly it reached a stage of development that the other dialects did not attain till much later. Hence it is that there are so few instances of "grammatical change," and so many forms that have been largely influenced by analogy. For example, instead of *qumans* the historically correct form would have been **kumans*, though this in turn goes back to a pre-Germanic **gu̯umonos*. And it is not improbable that *qiman* may also be of secondary formation for an original **kuman*, which is seen in O.S., O.E. *cuman*, O.N. *koma*. Cf. Sievers, PBB, VIII, 80 ff. Such forms as O.H.G. *gidungan* from *dwingan*, with the disappearance of *w* before *u*, or *lārun* from *lesan*, are never met with in Gothic. The stage of Gothic at the time of Ulfilas was reached later by O.H.G. when it wrote *gidwungan* and *lāsun*. Consequently Gothic often has the appearance of preserving older formations. This is not the case, however, wherever analogy has been a disturbing element.

We must therefore expect to find in the workings of Verner's Law a generalization in favor of either the surd or the sonant spirant. What we actually find is more frequently the former.

According to Verner's Law there should be in Gothic an interchange, in allied forms, of *f–b*, *h–g*, *hv–w*, *þ–d*, *s–z*. Since the interchange of *h–g* brings in some points not raised by the interchange in the other cases, this will be treated by itself.

1. First then as to the development of nasal + guttural (whether velar or palatal) as affected by Verner's Law, or not affected.

The verb *þeihan*, with which cf. Lith. *tenkù*, may be put in pre-Germanic form as follows:

**teŋqō*, **tetóŋqa*, **tetn̥qm̥mé*, **tn̥qonós*.

This would have yielded in Gothic if undisturbed by analogy,—

þeiha, **þāh*, **þungum*, **þungans*.

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The form *þeiha*, however, has taken the verb out of the third ablaut-series and made of it a verb of the first series. So we have:

þeihan, þáih, þaihum, þaihans.

In O.H.G. *dīhan* went through the same process, but retained the "grammatical change," giving:

dīhan, dēh, digum, gidigan.

As *dwingan* had originally the perf. part. *gidungan*, that may have helped to retire from use the **gidungan* that belonged to *dīhan*. In O.S. *thīhan* has the perf. part. *githigan*, and also the old irregular form *githungan*.

In O. E. we may suppose the following development:

**þīhan*,	**þōh*,	*þungon*,	*þungen*,
**þīhan*,	*þāh*,	*þigon*,	*þigen*,
þēon,	*þēah*,	*þugon*,	*þogen*

We have here forms belonging to three ablaut-series. These various forms, together with those in O.H.G. and in O.S. show that leveling had not taken place in Germanic.

With this verb is connected the noun *þeihs* $<\sqrt{teuq}$ (v. Brugmann, Grundr. II, p. 394) and German *ding*, Eng. *thing*, etc., and further Av. *tanc-išta–*, "most sturdy," *tac–*, "to rush," Skt. *tak-ati*, "flows," Lith. *tek-ù*, "flow," "run."

To this root belongs a numerous family: O.E. *geþingan*, O.S. *thingon*, O.H.G. *dingōn*, M.H.G. *dingen*, N.H.G. *dingen*, *bedingen*, etc.

The Goth. *þreihan* runs exactly parallel with *þeihan*. In the other dialects the development is different. The reason for this will be discussed later.

In *fāhan* the *h* has spread to all the forms. O.H.G. has *fāhan*, *fiang*, *fiangum*, *gifangan*. This more nearly represents the original state of affairs than the Gothic.

The sing. pret. was more readily assimilated to the plural, because the vowel was the same. O.S. and O.E. have forms corresponding to those of O.H.G. O.N. has occasionally in the pres. subj. *fange* for the regular *fāe*. This presupposes an inf. *fanga*, which is found in O. Sw.

An unnasalized form of this root occurs in Goth. *fagrs*, and in O.H.G. *fuogen*, O.E. *gefēgan*, and in M.H.G. *vëgen*.

The verb *hāhan* is parallel in its development with *fāhan*, except that in O. N. the inf. is always *hanga*.

The noun *hūhrus* $<$ **χúuχruz* shows a difference in accent, as

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compared with O.H.G., O.S. *hungar*, O.E. *hungor*, O.N. *hungr*< *χuŋgrús*. The weak verb *huggrjan*, as it had the accent on the suffix, is regular in its development.

In the Goth. *juggs* and *jūhiza* we have an instructive illustration, as it shows that the comparative had the accent on the root-syllable, as Verner pointed out. In O.N. occurs the same interchange: positive *ungr*, com. *ǭre* and the later *yngre*, superl. *yngstr* and once *ǭrstr*. The last form proves nothing for the superlative, since the *r* shows that it was modeled after the comparative like German *mehrst*. In O.H.G. are *jung*, *jūgiro*, besides the usual *jungiro*. Kluge in Paul's Grundr., I, 400, derives *jugiro*, which he writes with a short *u*, from **juwiza* by Bugge's Law, comparing it with Skt. *yávīyāṅs*. But Bugge's Law requires the accent **juwiza* to give *jugiro*, and that is authorized neither by the Skt. accent nor by the *z* of the comparative in Germanic. It is better therefore to explain it with Paul, in PBB, VI, 544, as a partial assimilation from an original **jūhizō*, so that it would be in line with the Goth. *jūhiza* and O.N. *ǭre*.

The development of I.E. **penqe*, "five," is peculiar. It probably represents an assimilation to **pempe*, which regularly gave the Goth. *fimf*. This assimilation doubtless took place before the Germanic sound-shifting, at any rate before the disappearance of the nasal before χ, otherwise the Germanic form would have been **fīχ(u̯e)* > Goth. **feih*. In like manner **pn̥qtó-* or **penqtó-* would give Gothic **fūhta* or **feihta*. In two words so closely allied the development would certainly be parallel. This, however, does not shut out the possibility of dialectical variation. So Kauffman, PBB, XII, 512, basing his conclusion on the **pn̥qtó-* set up by von Fierlinger, KZ, 27, p. 194, supposes a survival of the guttural in the Swabian *fuchzen*, 15, and *fuchzk*, 50, and in *fuft*, etc. This view is supported by Brugmann, Grundr., II, 476.

Now it is certain that the same dialect would not retain the guttural in the ordinal and change it to a labial in the cardinal. If these forms given by Kauffmann could be historically traced to O.H.G. there would be much better ground for supposing that the *ch* comes from the I.E. *q*. There seems to be a change here for which at present no reason can be given, though it seems similar to the change in Low German of *ft*>*cht*. And it is hardly necessary to hold to the presence of *ch* in order to explain the disappearance of *n*, when we consider how frequently a nasal disappears before a spirant throughout the Upper German. Staub, in Frommann, die d. Ma., VII, 31, lays down the

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rule for the Swiss-Alemannic that *n* disappears before *f*, *s*, and *ch*, with compensative lengthening of the preceding vowel, e. g. *hāf*<*hanf*, *gās*<*gans*, *bēche*<*bänke*.

A similar loss, either with or without vowel-lengthening, has been noted in other dialects. Cf. Scheiner, Die Mediascher Ma., PBB, XII, 140; Stickelberger, Con. der Ma. von Schaffhausen, PBB, XIV, 402; Michel, Ma. von Seifhennersdorf, PBB, XV, 51; Kisch, Bistritzer Ma., PBB, XVII, 385; Schild, Brienzer Ma., PBB, XVIII, 378 ff; Lumtzer, Leibitzer Ma., PBB, XX, 310.

The loss of the nasal, therefore, need cause us no difficulty. But how is the *u* to be explained? It is possible that it goes back to the sonant nasal in **pṇqto-*>**pumpto-*>**fumfta*. But then we must explain the *u* in O.H.G *funf* by analogy from the ordinal, since here it would hardly be original. However the form *finf* can be traced back earlier than *funf*, and this is not the only word in which we find *u* where we should expect an *i*. Cf. O.H.G. *munza* and *minza*<Lat. *mentha*, and further the double forms *gebürge*, *gebirge*; *hülfe*: *hilfe*; *gültig*: *giltig*; *müschen*: *mischen*; *zwölf*: M.H.G. *zwelf*, etc. Cf. Kehrein, Gram. § 59, 91, Grimm, Gram. I, 457. The rounding of the vowel generally occurs in the neighborhood of liquids or nasals.

There are two words, however, that beyond question preserve the guttural of **penqe*, provided of course they are connected with it. Phonologically there is no difficulty. These words are "finger" and "fist." Cf. Brugm. Grd. II, 288 f. Goth. *figgrs.*<**penq-ró-s*; O.H.G. *fūst*, O.E. *fȳst*<**pṇq-sti-s*, "a pentad."

Other words in which a nasal has been lost before a guttural are: *þāho*, O.H.G. *dāha*, O.N. *þā*, O.E. *þō*, N.H.G. *ton*; *þeihv*, "thunder"; *unwāhs*, O.S. *wāh*, O.E. *wōh*, O.N. *vangr*. Cf. Noreen, Urg. Lautlehre, p. 222.

The question remains unsettled, whether the nasalized vowel that developed from the vowel + the nasal preceding the guttural continued into the separate dialect life, or became a pure long vowel in general Germanic time. It is Sievers' opinion, Gr. § 45, 5, that the nasalized vowel did continue, and his reason for thinking so is that Germanic *āh*<*anh* becomes O.E. *ōh*, just as Germ. *anþ* and *ans* become O.E. *ōþ* and *ōs*. This would be an unavoidable conclusion, were it not for the fact that there is no other Germanic *ā*. Consequently we do not know how it might have developed in O.E. It may be that just as I.E. *ā* became *ō* in Germ., so Germ. *ā* may have become *ō* in O.E. The weight of the evidence, however, is in favor of Sievers' view. But be

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that as it may, the nasal tone was probably more persistent in the combination *inh* than in the other combinations.

This may help to explain why we find O.H.G. *dīhan*, but also *dringan*, *dwingan*, *slingan*. That is, the nasalized i^n would more readily yield to the leveling process in restoring *g* from the forms in which it was regular, than would a long pure *ī*.

The development of Goth. *finþan* as compared with the same verb in other dialects is instructive. Gothic has *þ* throughout, as we should expect. O.H.G. and O.N. in their older forms have the regular "grammatical change." O.S. has inf. *fīthan* and *findan*. O.E. has *findan*, *fond*, *fundon*, *funden*. Here, then, *findan*, *fond* have displaced **fīþan*, **fōþ*, which did not become well enough established to produce a verb of the first ablaut-series, but yielded to the analogy of *fundon*, *funden*.

But to return to *dringan*, *dwingan*, and *slingan*. There is another element that has brought about a different treatment of these verbs than that of *dīhan*. If we refer the *g* to an I.E. *gh*, as Noreen does in his Urg. Lautlehre, p. 146, in the case of *slingan*, then the difficulty is removed at a stroke. However, we will take his derivation given ibid., p. 184, where, as given by others, he connects it with Lith. *slenkù*, and with O.N. *slǭ*<**slanhō*, O.H.G. *slango*, etc. O.H.G. *dwingan*, O.S. *thwingan*, O.N. *þuinga*, and O.H.G. *dūhen*, O.E. *þȳn* leave no doubt as to their origin. The same is true of *dringan* compared with Goth. *þreihan*. Now O.N. furnishes evidence that *slingan* and *dringan* were aorist-presents, or at least that that formation existed by the side of the other. Besides the O.N. sing. pres. *þryngr* occurs *þrøngr*< **þrangwiR*<**trn̥q-ési*. The *R* in this instance does not prevent our assuming the accent indicated, since leveling has brought in the same ending for all verbs, regardless of the original accent. Upon the form *þrøngr* an infinitive *þrøngua* was made, and also an inf. *sløngua* from a presupposed **sløngr*, and these then are often conjugated weak. For *sløngua* O. Sw. has *slunga*, a plain aorist-present formation.

So then the *ng* in these verbs in all the dialects but Gothic is due to a suffix-accentuation, and the vowel that properly belongs to an imperfect-present was introduced from the regular type. The Goth. *þreihan* may be due to a by-form with root-accent, or may have generalized the *h* from the sing. perf. O.H.G. *dwingan*, O.S. *thwingan*, etc., may also have been aorist-presents that have lost the semblance of that formation, or they may have been remodeled after the part. and plur. perf. The probabilities, however, in these three verbs *dringan*, *dwingan*, *slingan*, are that there was suffix-accentuation. Otherwise

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it would be hard to see why O.H.G. *dīhan*, O.S. *thīhan*, O.E. *þēon* should not have developed in the same way. To *dwingan* we have the weak verb *dūhen*, O.E. *þȳn*<**þunhjan*. This is a strange development. We should expect rather O.H.G. **dungen*, O.E. **þyngan*. The *h* here seems to be due to the sing. perf. Paul, PBB, VII. 147; Sievers, PBB, IX., 563. Or *dūhen*, *þȳn*, may be a denominative formed on the root *þunχ-*, *þūh* after Verner's Law ceased to be operative. It would then remain for us to explain how we could have root-accent with a low-grade ablaut. But not a few such instances occur. Cf. Osthoff, MU, IV, 73 ff.

2. Verner's Law in the Ablauting Verbs. As we find these verbs in Gothic, they are much influenced by leveling. Without leveling there would be "grammatical change" as follows: (1) In imperfect-presents the surd spirant would occur in the pres. and in the sing. perf., the sonant spirant in the plur. perf. and in the perf. part. (2) In aorist-presents the surd spirant would occur in the sing. perf., the sonant spirant in the plur. perf. and in the perf. part., and in the present. Furthermore, in the endings affected by Verner's Law, those of the imperfect-presents would show the sonant spirant, the others the surd spirant.

The actual condition in Gothic is quite different. The personal endings are those naturally developing in imperfect-presents. In all imperfect-presents the surd spirant has been generalized. In aorist-presents the sonant spirant has been generalized, though this cannot be known in all cases with certainty. The development of the two classes may be illustrated by *sneiþan* and *biugan*.

I. ablaut-series. In this series the vowel of the present cannot help us decide whether we have to deal with an imperfect- or an aorist-present. For Gothic *ei* may represent either pre-Germanic *ei̯* or *ī*. Our only criterion must be the presence of a surd or sonant spirant. If we have a surd spirant, however, we need not necessarily conclude that the verb represents an imperfect-present, though the presumption is in its favor. This remark applies to the verbs of the other series as well. The *ei* in aorist-presents does not come from I.E. *i* + nasal, as Hirt supposes, PBB, XVIII., 522 ff. Cf. my article in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, X., 94–97.

The following verbs have generalized the surd spirant: *leihvan*, *gateihan*, *þeihan*, *þreihan*, *weihan*; *leiþan*, *sneiþan*; *reisan*.

Goth. *weihan* represents, according to Brugmann, Grundr., II., 913, 928, a Germanic *μéi̯χō*. That would be the only admissible con-

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clusion if the Gothic form stood alone. Cf. O.H.G. *wīgant*, *wīkant*, O.S. *wīgand*, O.E. *wīgend*, and also in the fifth ablaut-series, O.H.G. *ubar-wihit*, O.N. *vega*, O.E. *wegan*. So Osthoff, PBB, VIII., 291, had some grounds for concluding that in Germanic only **wīgō* occurred, and that Goth. *weiha* was for **weiga*, following the pret. *waih*.

A clear aorist-present is *bi-leiban*. Cf. O.H.G. *bi-līban*, O.E. *be-līfan;* Skt. *limpāmi*. Doubtful are: *dreiban*, *sweiban* (I.E. *-bh-* or *-p-*?) and *hneiwan* (I.E. *-gh-* or *-q-*?).

II. ablaut-series. With generalized surd spirant are: *tiuhan*, *þliuhan; hiufan; driusan*, *kiusan*, *fra-liusan*.

Goth. *hiufan* cannot with certainty be placed among the imperfect-presents, since O.H.G. *hiuban* (by the side of *hiufan*), O.S. *hioðan*, O.E. *hēofan*, point toward a Germanic **χūðó*, or at least a **χūðó* by the side of a **χéufō*.

Aorist-presents are *biugan* and *skiuban*. *Biuga* for **būga* < *bhūkó*. The *k* here is inferred from O.H.G. *buhil* and O.N. *bōla*. O.E. *būgan* is the historically correct form. Goth. *biugan* and O.H.G. *biogan* take their dipthong from analogy of other verbs of this ablaut-series.

Goth. *skiuban*, O.H.G. *skioban*, O.E. *scūfan*, O.N. *skūfa*, go back to Germanic **skūðó* < *skūpó*. Cf. O.H.G. *scūfala*.

III. ablaut-series. With surd spirant are *hinþan*, *finþan*, *wairþan*, *filhan*, *gaþairsan*, *at-þinsan*. On last named cf. Brugm., Grd., I., 438. To *filhan*, however, belongs an old perf. part. used as an adjective, *fulgins*.

As aorist-presents we may set down *hvairban*, *gildan*, *windan*, and perhaps *gairdan*.

Goth. *hvairban*, O.H.G. *wervan* and *werban*, the latter the regular form in Tatian and in Otfrid. In other writings there is evident confusion, since the *f* is found where it could not have been original, *e. g. chi-hwurfi*, *gi-hworfan*. We have good evidence here that a verb whose present stem has a strong ablaut form, or a surd spirant, or both, does not necessarily go back to an imperfect-present. Brugmann, Grundr., II., 927 f., refers Germ. verbs to Class II. A or II. B, according to the existing form. Osthoff, PBB, VIII., 290, recognized the fact that a verb may have the strong ablaut form and still not have come from an imperfect-present. O.S. *hwerðan* and O.E. *hweorfan* are also in line with the Gothic *hwairban*.

An aorist-present, if it remained in this ablaut-series, would naturally bring in the vowel of the present common to other verbs of the series, since otherwise the present of the verb would have too strange

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a sound. To illustrate: **qr̥pṓ* or **qr̥̄pṓ* would give in Germ. **h(w)urƀṓ* or **hwarƀṓ*. This would cause confusion with the perfect stem. Consequently these verbs would make their present conform to other verbs of the series, or become weak verbs, or form another class like Gothic *haldan*. J. von Fierlinger, KZ, XXVII., 436 ff., has shown that several of the verbs in the VI. ablaut-series and in the reduplicating verbs with vowel *a* formerly belonged to the *e*-series. We may conclude, then, that from Germ. **hwarƀṓ* < *qr̥̄pṓ* arose, by analogy with other present-forms of this series, Goth. *ƕairban*, O.H.G. *hwerban*, O.S. *hwerƀan*, O.E. *hweorfan*, O.N. *huerfa*. Now there is a weak verb with practically the same meaning: Goth. *ƕarbōn*, O.H.G. *(h)warbōn*, O.E. *hwearfian*. This is not the causative O.H.G. *hwerben*, O.E. *hwierfan*, but is probably another development of the Germ. aorist-present **hwarƀō*. From the collateral **h(w)urƀō* comes the O.N. weak verb *horfa*. For a similar development compare O.H.G., O.S., O.E. *spurnan*, regularly strong, but O.N. *sporna*, usually weak, and also O.H.G. *spurnta*. Goth. *gildan*, O.H.G. *geltan*, O.S. *geldan*, O.E. *gildan*, O.N. *gialda* from $\sqrt{ghel}$ + *to* with suffix-accentuation. O.Sw. *gialla* seems to indicate an accent on the root. Goth. *windan*, O.S., O.E. the same, O.H.G. *wintan* from $\sqrt{u̯ei̯}$- + *to*- with nasal infix. If Goth. *gairdan*, O.S. *gurdian*, O.H.G. *gurten*, O.E. *gyrdan* are connected with Goth. *gards*, O.H.G. *gart*, etc., and with Grk. χόρτος, Lat. *hortus*, then Goth. *gairdan* has probably restored the strong ablaut to the present, since the *d* points to a suffix accent. We may suppose the original form to have been **gurđi̯ṓ*. This developed in W.G. a weak verb, in Gothic a strong verb with the regular type restored.

IV. ablaut-series. We have here but one verb to consider, viz., *trudan*. If, as Kluge suggests, it goes back to a pre-Germanic root *dret*-, then we must assume here that Goth. *trudan*, O.N. *trođa*, O.S., O.E. *tredan*, O.H.G. *tretan* come from **dr̥tṓ*. The Goth. and O.N. have developed historically correct forms, whereas the other dialects have introduced the strong grade vowel.

V. ablaut-series. With surd spirant occur *fraihnan*, *saiƕan*; *hlifan*; *qiþan*, *niþan*; *lisan*, *ga-nisan*, *wisan*.

Goth. *fraihnan* and O.N. *fregna*, O.E. *frignan*, show a possible variation in accent in the present.

With accent on the suffix: *widan*, O.H.G. *wëtan* < **u̯itṓ* < $\sqrt{u̯ei̯}$ + *-to-*. Cf. Brugmann, Grundr., II., 1002.

VI. ablaut-series. With surd spirant: *slahan*, *þwahan*, *hlahjan*; *hlaþan*, *fraþjan*, *skaþjan*, *garaþana*; *hafjan*.

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According to Kluge, Etym. Wtb., followed by Brugmann, Grundr., II., 1047, Goth. *hlaþan*, O.H.G. *hladan*, O.E. *hladan*, are connected with O.Ch.Sl. *kla-dą* < **qlə-dhō*. This ought to develop in Goth. to **hladan* and in O.H.G. to **hlatan*. The O.E. *hladan* is supposed to be regular. The *þ* of Gothic and the *d* of O.H.G. are explained as arising from an "unoriginal grammatical change" as if from I.E. *t*. The probabilities are that it does come from an I.E. *t*, in spite of O.Ch.Sl. *kladą*. We may set down the original form as **k̑lə́tō* (or **qlə́tō*), interchanging with **k̑lə́tō*. This explanation causes less difficulty than the other.

With accent on the suffix: *skaban*, *standan*. Goth. *skaban*, O.H.G. *scaban*, O.N. *skafa*, O.E. *sceafan* from √*sqap-*. Cf. Gk. σκαπάνη, O.Lat. *scaprēs*.

Goth. *standan* < **stə-n-tō'* has preserved a "grammatical change," compared with the pret. *stōþ*, *stōþum*. The *þ* in this case has been generalized in the pret. Its retention is probably due to the law of finals in Gothic, which requires a final surd. Other instances in which the law of finals would bring about the same result as an actual "grammatical change," and where consequently it is impossible to say to which of these the interchange is due, are: *bi-leiban*, *bi-laif*; *skiuban*: *skauf*. The other dialects have abandoned the "gram. change" in this verb as regularly in all aorist-presents.

3. Preterit-presents. Among these verbs the surd spirant has been retained in *lais*, *gadars*; *ga-nah*, *bi-nah*. With "gram. change" occur *þarf* : *þaurbum*; *aih* : *aigum*.

Some of these verbs form a sort of connecting link between the ablauting verbs and the so-called reduplicating verbs. That is to say, like *hvarbōn* mentioned above, having taken on the form of a perfect, it became necessary to express past time in some other form. This is done by retaining the reduplication as in Gothic, by the use of some other past tense that preserves a different ablaut, or by forming a weak preterit. The last course these verbs have adopted. As presents may be set down Goth. *ga-dars*, *ga-daúrsum*, where the *s* stands for a Germ. *z*. Compare O.E. *dear*(*r*), North. *darr*, O.H.G. *gi-tar*, *giturrun*, O.S. *darr*, inf. *durran*. These go back to ablaut forms *dhr̥̄s-*, *dhr̥s-*, and are related to Skt. *dhr̥ṣ-ṇō'-mi*. Höfer, Germ. 23, 3.

In like manner *þarf*, *þaurbum* represents *tr̥̄p-*, *tr̥p-*, found according to de Saussure, Mém. de la Soc. de Ling., VII, 83 ff, in Gk. τέρπομαι, Skt. *tr̥p-ṇō'-mi*. So we have here also a present. Cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr., I, 377.

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Goth. *aih : aigum* is supposed to show "grammatical change." It is true that in the sing. forms *h* is more common, while in the plur. and opt. *g* prevails. In O.E. the sing. is *āg* and *āh*, in which *h* may stand for final *g*. Elsewhere *g* occurs, except of course before *s* and *t*.

In O.N., however, we must explain the sing. *ā* < **aih*, since **aig* would give *ǣ*, Noreen, ais. Gr.[2] § 95.

In O.H.G. the sing. is not found, but only plur. and opt., *eigun*, *eigut*, *eigi*, etc. O.S. preserves *g* throughout, except in one plur. form, Ess. gl. Luc. 22, 36, *the thes naihun* = *qui non habent*.

We probably have in *aigan* a pres. with suffix-accent, not a perf. A perf. ought to give *aih*, **igum*. But all the dialects agree in giving *aih* or *aig*, plur. *aigum*. If this be really a pres., we may set up as the root *ēi̯k-*, seen perhaps in Skt. *ī'cē*. Even if it is a perf. we have probably to go back to a long diphthong.

4. The Weak Verbs.—Since these verbs in most of their forms had the accent on the suffix, we should expect final *f*, *h*, *hv*, *þ*, *s*, of the root to change to *b*, *g*, *w*, *d*, *z*. But in most cases we do not find that. What is the explanation? Several have been given.

Paul in PBB, VI, 548, explains the *s* in *hausjan*, *nasjan*, etc., as a final *s*, and hence falling under the general rule in Gothic. That this cannot be is seen from the fact that *b* and *d* are not treated as finals before *-jan*. E. g. *arbaidjan*, *usbraidjan*, *usdaudjan*, *daubjan*, *draibjan*, *bilaibjan*, where *d* and *b* are treated the same as in *arbaidai*, *bileiban*. In most cases the true explanation is that Gothic has leveled the weak verb to the corresponding strong verb or noun. This was the explanation given by Verner, KZ, XXIII, 120. An examination of the weak verbs in Gothic brings out this fact. Taking first the verbs with *s* before the suffix, we find that in almost every instance there are related words with *s*; and in no case is there a weak verb with *s* derived from, or connected wlth, a noun or strong verb with *z*. Hence *kiusan : kausjan; liusan*, *laus : lausjan; þaursus : þaursjan*, etc. On the other hand the verbs with *z* do have related forms with *z*, and do not have related forms with *s*, with the possible exception of *wizōn*, provided we connect that with *wisan*. The same is true with verbs in *þ*. So *dauþs*, *dauþis : dauþjan*. Verbs in *d*, with two exceptions, have either allied words with *d*, or at least none with *þ*. The two exceptions are *sandjan : sinþs;* and *fra-wardjan : wairþan*. Leveling did not take place here, perhaps, because the connection was not felt.

With *f* there are four verbs. Two of these have corresponding forms with *f*, viz., *ufar-hafnan : hafjan;* and *tweifljan : tweifls*. A

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third, *sifan*, has no related word in Gothic, cf. O.E. *sifian*. The fourth, *af-lifnan*, is connected with a strong verb with *b*, *bileiban*. Verbs in *b* have no related forms in *f* by which they might be influenced.

Verbs in *h* are no exception to the rule: *hauhjan : hauhs; uf-hlōhjan : hlahjan*. Several of these have no cognate forms in Gothic, except of course those derived from them. E. g. *tahjan*, Skt. *daç*, Gk. δάκνω; *ga-tarhjan*, Skt. *dṛç*, Gk. δέρκομαι; *þahan*, Lat. *taceō*. There may, however, have been related words that have not survived. For example with the last verb compare O.N. *þegia*, O.H.G. *dagēn*, O. S. *thagon*.

Verbs in *g* regularly have allied forms in *g*: *audagjan : audags; tagrjan : tagr*. There is one instance of *g* < *h*; *huggrjan : hūhrus*. Here, however, it is safe to assume that the difference was too great to be leveled out. Cf. *juggs : jūhiza*.

Where also we find *w* < I.E. *q'*-, it does not occur independently of related words. So:—*ana-þiwan : þius; gatēwjan; tēwa; hnaiwjan* (√ *kneiq*- or *kneigh*- ?) : *hnaiws, hneiwan*.

We can lay it down, therefore, as a rule in Gothic that weak verbs follow the analogy of the strong verbs or the nominal stems from which they are derived. And so far as Gothic is concerned, no other explanation would be necessary. But the other dialects present forms that are not so easily explained in this way, especially as outside of Gothic "gram. change" was not readily leveled out. In a few cases there is a possibility that the verbs were originally strong and regularly had the surd spirant. This seems probable, since we see some of them changing in historical time. E. g., Goth. *skaþjan*, strong, but O.E. *sceþþan*, weak.

Another cause that may have helped to bring in the surd spirant, was that the root-syllable in some forms of the pret. bore the accent. This theory was advanced by Paul, P.B.B., VII., 147, and by Sievers, P.B.B., IX., 563. But this had no such widespreading effect as they assume.

This theory would seem to militate against the theory of Collitz, Am. Journ. of Philg., IX., 42 ff. that the weak pret. is a middle perf. Yet there can be no doubt that in Germanic the root-syllable in the pret. of weak verbs bore the accent in some of its forms.

Otherwise there would be no explanation for Goth. *kunþa*, O.E. *cūþe*, *ūþe*, O.N. *kunna*, *unna*, and *gnēðe*=*ganēhida* of Gothic from pres. *gnēgia*. This too may be the explanation of *ga-nauþida*, Luke, V., 4, for **ga-anþida*, Cf. Con. Hofmann, Ger. VIII., 1. This form

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would be more easily confused by the transcriber with *ga-nanþida* than would the form **ga-andida*, conjectured by Bernhardt. We may suppose that it was originally **andjan;* **anþida*, just as O.N. has *gnēgia; gnēđe.* This would undoubtedly be leveled out to the surd or sonant spirant, probably the latter on account of *andeis;* but *ga-(n)anþida* we may regard as a survival of the original condition.

The following weak verbs in Gothic with the surd spirant are represented in the other dialects by verbs with the corresponding sonant. Verbs not of the same class, but from the same stem or root are enclosed in parentheses.

1. Goth. *af-drausjan:* (O.H.G. *trūrēn*), *trōrren*
   Goth. *hausjan:* O.H.G. *hōren*, O.E. *hieran*, O.N. *heyra.*
   Goth. *laisjan:* O.H.G. *lēren*, O.E. *lǣran.*
   Goth. *nasjan*, O.H.G. *neren*, O.S. *nerian*, O.E. *nerigan.*
   Goth. *ur-raisjan*, O.N. *reisa:* O.E. *rǣran*, O.H.G. *rērren.*
   Goth. *þaúrsjan:* O.N. *þyrran*, (O.H.G. *dorrēn*, O.S. *thorron*).
   Goth. *ga-þaúrsnan:* O.N. *þorna.*
   Goth. *wasjan:* O.E. *werian*, O.H.G. *weren*, O.N. *veria.*
   Goth. *balþjan:* O.S. *beldian* (?).
   Goth. *dauþjan*, O.H.G. *tōden: tōten.*
   Goth. *nauþjan:* O.S. *nōdian*, O.H.G. *nōten.*
   Goth. *ganōhjan:* O.N. *gnēgia.*
   Goth. *at-nēhvjan*, O.H.G. *nāhen:* O.E. *nǣgan.*
   Goth. *þahan:* O.H.G. *dagēn*, O.S. *thagian* (O.N. *þegia*).
   Goth. *weihan:* (O.S. *wīhian*, O H.G. *wīhen:* O.N. *vīgia*).
   Goth. *wrōhjan:* O.S. *wrōgian*, O.E. *wrēgan*, O.H.G. *ruogen*, O.N. *rēgia.*

Two weak verbs in Gothic have the surd spirant, though closely connected with other words showing the influence of Verner's Law.

2. Goth. *af-lifnan: bi-leiban*, O.H.G. *bi-līban.*
   Goth. *fahrjan: fagrs*, O.H.G. *fagar.*

The following show the influence of Verner's Law, though connected with words having the surd spirant.

3. Goth. *sandjan*, O.E. *sendan:* Goth. *sinþs*, O.E. *sīþ.*
   Goth. *fra-wardjan*, O.E. *wyrdan:* Goth. *wairþan.*
   Goth. *huggrjan: hūhrus.*
   Goth. *wizōn: wisan.*

In a few instances Gothic has yielded to Verner's Law where one or more of the other dialects has retained the surd spirant.

4. Goth. *airzjan*, O.H.G. *irren:* O.E. *yrsian* (but *yrre*).

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Goth. *tagrjan*, *tagr:* M.H.G. *zeheren*, *zaher*, *zeher*.

Goth. *ga-tēwjan*, *tēwa:* (O.E. *teohhian*, *teoh*, O.H.G. *gi-zēhōn*).

The following agree in two or more dialects in retaining the surd spirant.

5. Goth. *us-gaisjan*, O.E. *gǣsan*.

Goth. *af-hrisjan*, O.E. *hrissan*, O.S. *hrissian*.

Goth. *lausjan*, O.H.G. *lōsen*, O.N. *leysa*, O.E. *lȳsan*.

Goth. *balþjan*, O.S. *beldian* (?).

Goth. *blauþjan*, O.H.G. *plōden*, O.S. *blōđian*.

Goth. *bleiþjan*, O.H.G. *blīden*.

Goth. *ga-friþōn*, O.E. *friþian*, O.S. *friđon*.

Goth. *laþōn*, O.H.G. *ladōn*, O.E. *laþian*.

Goth. *liuþōn*, O.H.G. *liudōn*.

Goth. *maþljan*, (O.E. *maþelian*) O.H.G. *mahalen*, O.N. *mǣla*, O.E. *mǣlan*.

Goth. *maúrþrjan*, O.E. *myrþrian*.

Goth. *ana-nanþjan*, O.H.G. *nenden*, O.N. *nenna*. O.S. *nāthian*, O.E. *nēþan*.

Goth. *smiþōn*, O.E. *smiþian*, O.H.G. *smidōn*.

Goth. *swi-kunþjan*, O.H.G. *kunden*, O.S. *cūthian*, O.E. *cȳþan*.

Goth. *swinþjan*, O.E. *ge-swīþan*.

Goth. *wairþōn*, O.E. *ge-weorþian*, O.H.G. *gi-werdōn*.

Goth. *hauhjan*, O.H.G. *hōhen*, O.E. *hēan*.

Goth. *lauhatjan*, O.H.G. *lohazzen*.

The verbs in the last list are too plainly connected with their etyma to need any other explanation of the surd spirant.

5. Accent-shifting in Nominal-Inflection. Variation in accent in related words will be seen (1) by a comparison of different Gothic forms, and (2) by a comparison of Gothic with other dialects. This is intended to include not only the variation in accent in the same word, but also in related words, whether noun or verb.

f–b. 1. Goth. *afar*, O.H.G. *avar:* Goth. *af*, *ab-u*, O.H.G. *abur*.

2. Goth. *stafs* (*b*), "element," O.H.G. *stap*, O.E. *stæf:* O.H.G. *stuofa*. Cf. Skt. *sthāp-áyāmi*.

3. Goth. *swibls*, "sulphur," O.H.G. *swebal : sweval*.

4. Goth. *ain-lif*, *twalif* (*b*), "eleven," "twelve": O.H.G. *ein-lif*, *zwelif*.

5. Goth. *þiubs*, "thief," *þiubi*, "theft," O.H.G. *diuba*, "theft," and *diob*, "thief": *diuva*.

6. Goth. *uf-ar:* O.S. *oƀar*, O.H.G. *ubir*, (cf. Gk. ὑπέρ) Goth. *ubils*, "evil," O.S. *uƀil*, O.H.G. *ubil*.

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7. Goth. *þarba*, "want," *þarbs*, "necessary," *þaurban*: *þarf*.

8. Without variation: Goth. *haubiþ*, *sibun*, O.H.G. *houbit*, *sibun*.

h, *hv*,–*g*, *w*. 1. Goth. *ahana*, "chaff," *ahs*, "ear of grain," O.H.G. *ahir*, O.E. *ēar* (Lat. *acus*): O.H.G. *agana*, "chaff," O.N. *ǫgn*.

2. Goth. *ahva*, "water," O.H.G. *aha*, O.E. *ēa*, (Lat. *aqua*): O.H.G. *ouwa*, O.N. *ey*, O.E. *īeg* < **aujō*.

3. Goth. *arhv-azna*, "arrow," O.E. *earh*, O.N. *ǫr*: O.E. *arewe*, cf. Lat. *arcus*, *arqui-tenens*.

4. Goth. *aúhns*, "oven": O.N. *ogn*.

5. Goth. *fagrs*, "fair," *faginōn*, "to rejoice," O.H.G., O.S. *fagar*, O.E. *fæger*, M.H.G. *vegen*, "fegen," O.H.G. *fuogen*, "fügen," O.E. *gefēgan*: Goth. *fāhan*, "fangen," *fahēþs*, "joy," *fulla-fahjan*, "to satisfy," *ga-fahrjan*, "to prepare."

6. Goth. *fairhvus*, "world," O.H.G. *ferah*, "life," O.E. *feorh*, O.S. *firihos*, "men," O.N. *firar*: *fyrðar* < (**firgui-ðoz*). Cf. Noreen, Urg. Lautlehre, p. 180.

7. Goth. *fawai*, "few," O.H.G. *fawe*: *fōhēm*, Hild. 9, (Lat. *paucus*).

8. Goth. *ga-filh*, "burial," *filhan*, "to hide": *fulgins*, "hidden," *filigri*, "hiding-place."

9. Goth. *ganaúha*, "sufficiency," *ganah*, "is enough," *ganōhs*, "enough": O.S. *ginōg*, O.H.G. *ginuog*, O.N. *gnōgr*.

10. Goth. *hauhs*, "high," O.H.G., O.S. *hōh*, O.E. *hēah*, O.N. *hōr*: *haugr*, "high" and "hill," M.L.Franc. *hōghe*.

11. Goth. *hūhrus*, "hunger": *huggrjan*, O.H.G. *hungar*.

12. Goth. *juggs*, "young," O.H.G. *jung*, O.E. *geong*, O.N. *ungr*: Goth. *jūhiza*, "younger," O.N. *ǫre*. Cf. Lat. *juvencus*, Skt. *yuvaçás*.

13. Goth. *ragin*, "judgment": *rahnjan*, "to compute." Cf. Skt. *rac-anam*.

14. Goth. *siuns*, "sight," O.S. *siun*: Goth. *saihvan*.

15. Goth. *skōhs*, "shoe," O.S. *skōh*: Lapp loanword *skuovva* < **skōgua*. Cf. Noreen, Urg. Lautlehre, p. 33.

16. Goth. *slahals*, "striker," *slahs*, "a blow": O.H.G. *slag*, O.S. *slegi*, O.E. *slege*.

17. Goth. *swaihra*, "father-in-law," *swaihrō*, fem., O.H.G. *swehur*, O.E. *swēor*: O.H.G. *swigar*, fem. O.E. *sweger*. Cf. Skt. *çváçuras*, *çvaçrū'*.

18. Goth. *tagr*, "tear," *tagrjan*, "to weep," O.E. *teagor*: *tēar*, O.N. *tār*, O.H.G. *zahar*. Cf. Gk. δάκρυ, Lat. *lacruma*.

19. Goth. *taihun*, "ten," O.S. *tehan*: Goth. *tigus*, O.S. *-tig*.

20. Goth. *tēwa*, "order," *tēwi*, "company," *ga-tēwjan*, "to appoint," O.E. *getāwa*: *teoh*, *teohhian*, O.H.G. *gi-zehōn*, M.H.G. *zeche*.

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21. Goth. *fairguni:* O.H.G. *foraha*, etc. Cf. Noreen, Urg. Lautl. 131.

22. Without variation occur: Goth. *figgrs*, "finger," O.H.G. *fingar*, etc., < **peuqrós;* Goth. *hals-agga*, "neck," O.H.G. *angul*, "hook," Skt. *aṇkás;* Goth. *ga-*, Lat. *co-;* Goth. *þius*, O.E. *þeo*, O.N. *þýr*, O.H.G. *deo* < **teqós*. Cf. also O.H.G. *degan*, etc., < **teqnós*.

þ–d. 1. Goth. *fram-aldrs*, "very old," O.N. *aldr*, O.S. *aldar*, O.H.G. *altar*, Goth. *alds*, "age," O.E. *ieldu*, O.H.G. *alt*, "old," O.S. *ald:* Goth. *alþeis*, O.N. *ellre*, "older," O.H.G. *elthiro*, Goth. *us-alþan*, "to grow old."

2. Goth. *baúrþei*, "burden," O.H.G. *burdi*, O.E. *byrþen*, Goth. *ga-baúrþs (þ)*, "birth," O.E. *beorþ*, *beorþor:* O.H.G. *giburt*, O.S. *giburd*, O.E. *gebyrd*.

3. Goth. *blōþ*, "blood": O.E. *blōd*, O.H.G. *bluot*.

4. Goth. *dauþus*, "death," O.E. *dēaþ*, O.S. *dōth*, O.H.G. *tōd*, Goth. *daúþs (þ)*, "dead": O.E. *dēad*, O.S. *dōd*, O.H.G. *tōt*.

5. Goth. *-falþs*, "-fold," *ain-falþei*, "simplicity": O.N. *-faldr*, O.H.G. *-falt*, O.E. *-feald*.

6. Goth. *us-farþō*, "journey out": *ga-faúrds*, "a coming together," O.N. *ferð*, O.E. *fierd*, O.S. *fard*, O.H.G. *fart*.

7. Goth. *framaþjis*, "strange," O.H.G. *framadi*, O.E. (North.) *fremþe:* O.E. (W.S.) *fremde*.

8. Goth. *fraþi*, "mind," *fraþjan*, "to think," *-fraþjis*, "-minded," *ga-fraþjei*, "understanding," *un-frōþans*, "unwise," Gal. 3, 3.: *un-frōdans*, Gal. 3, 1, *frōda-ba*, "wisely," *frōdei*, "wisdom," O.E. *frōd*, "wise," O.H.G. *fruot*.

9. Goth. *Friþa-reiks*, "peace-ruler," *ga-friþōn*, "to make peace," O.H.G. *fridu*, "peace," O.S. *frithu*, O.E. *freoþo:* Goth. *freidjan*, "to spare," O.H.G. *frīten*, "to cherish."

10. Goth. *gilþa*, "sickle": O.H.G. *galt*, "farrow," O.N. *geldr*, *gelda*, "to castrate."

11. Goth. *grundu-waddjus*, "ground-wall," O.E. *grund*, O.H.G. *grunt*, O.N. *grund: grunnr*, "shallow."

12. Goth. *guþ*, "God," plur. *guþa*, Gal. 4, 8: *guda*, John, 10, 34, 35, in composition, *af-ga-guds*, *ga-guda-ba*, *af-ga-gudei*, O.E., O.S. *god*, O.H.G. *got*, O.N. *goð*, *guð*.

13. Goth. *kindins*, "governor," O.N. *kind*, "family," Goth. *–kunds*, "–born," O.E, *–cund*, O.N. *kundr* < *ĝn̥-tó–:* O.H.G. *kind* < *ǧén-to–*.

14. Goth. *ga-kunds*, "persuasion," Gal. 5, 8: *ga-kunþai*, "obedi-

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ence," Luke, 3, 23, *kunþi*, "knowledge," *kunþs*, "known," O.H.G. *kund*, O.S. *cūth*, O.E. *cūþ*, O.N. *kunnr*.

15. Goth. *ana-minds*, "supposition," *ga-munds*, "remembrance," O.E. *gemynd:* Goth. *ga-minþi*, "remembrance."

16, Goth. *nauþs*, "needs," *nauþim*, II Cor. 6, 4, O.H.G. *nōth* (rare), Goth. *nauþjan*, "to compel": *naudi-bandi*, "fetter," *naudi-þaurfts*, "necessary," O.H.G. *nōt*, O.S. *nōd*, O.E. *nēad*, *nȳd*.

17. Goth. *saþs* (*d*), "full," O.S. *sad*, O.E. *sæd*, O.H.G. *sat:* Goth. *sōþ*, "a satisfying," *ga-sōþjan*, "to satisfy."

18. Goth. *sauþs*, (*d*), "sacrifice": O.E. *sēoþan*, "seethe," O.H.G. *siodan*.

19. Goth. *ga-sinþja*, "companion," *sinþs*, "a going": *sandjan*, "to send," *ussindō*, "especially."

20. Goth. *skuldō*, "debt": O.H.G. *sculd*.

21. Goth. *sleiþa*, "injury," *sleiþei*, "danger": *sleiþs* (*d*), "dangerous."

22. Goth. *lukarna-staþa*, "candle-stick," *anda-staþiis*, "adversary," *unga-stōþs*, "unsettled," *staþs*, "shore," O.S. *stath*, O.E. *stæþ*, O.H.G. *stado:* Goth. *staþs* (*d*), "place," O. S. *stedi*, O.E. *stede*, O.H.G. *stat*.

23. Goth. *tunþus*, "tooth," O.S. *tand*, O.E. *tōþ*, O.H.G. *zand:* Goth. *aiḥva-tundi*, "bramblebush."

24. Goth. *und*, prep. "to, unto," O.S. *und*, O.H.G. *untaz:* Goth. *unþa–*, prefix, O.E. *ūþ*.

25. Goth. *–wairþs*, suf. "–ward," *and-wairþi*, "presence," *swulta-wairþja*, "one ready to die," O.E. *–weard*, O.H.G. *wert*.

26. Goth *winds*, "wind," O.H.G. *wint:* Goth. *winþi-skaúrō*, "winnowing fan."

27. Goth. *fidwor*, "four," *fidur-falþs*, "fourfold:" O.E. *fyþer-fēte*, "fourfooted."

Without variation occur:

28. *and*, *anda*, prep. and prefix, O.H.G. *ant–*, *int–*; cf. Lat. *ante*, Gk. ἀντί; Goth. *andeis*, "end," O.N. *ender*, etc. < **anđiá–*.

29. Goth. *brūþs* (*a*), O.H.G. *brūt*, O.E. *brȳd* < **brūđi–*.

30. Goth. *fadar*, O.H.G. *fater*, cf. Gk. πατήρ.

31. Goth. *–faþs* (*d*) "master" in *bruþ-faþs*, etc., Gk. πόσις, Lat. *potis*. Skt. *páti*.

32. Goth. *gairda*, "girdle," *garda*, "yard," *gards*, "house," O.H.G. *gart*, *garto*, etc. Cf. Gk. χόρτος, Lat. *hortus*.

33. Goth. *hardus*, "hard," O.H.G. *hart*, *herti*, O.E. *heard*, etc. Cf. Gk. κρατύς.

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34. Goth. *hleiduma*, "left," O.H.G. *hlīta*, "slope," Gk. κλῖτύς, "hill."

35. Goth. *hund*, "hundred," O.H.G. *hund-ert*, etc. <*χundđá-, cf. Lat. *centum*.

36. Goth. *junda*, "youth," <*iuu̯n̥-tā*, cf. Lat. *juventa*.

37. Goth. *weitwōds*, "witness." *weitwōdei*, "testimony," cf. Gk. εἰδώς.

38. Goth. *bauds*, O.H.G. *botaha* (Lat. *fūtis*). Cf. Noreen, Urg. Lautlehre, 155.

39. Goth. *haidus*, O.H.G. *heit*, O.E. *hād*, Skt. *kētús*.

s–z. 1. Goth. *ans*, dat. *anza*, "beam:" O.N. dat. sing. *āse* < **ansē*.

2. Goth. *asans*, "harvest," *asneis*, "harvest-laborer," O.H.G. *esni*, "servant," O.E. *esne*: O.H.G. *arn*, "harvest," O.N. *ǫnn*, O.H.G. *arnōn*, "to harvest," O.E. *earnian*, "earn."

3. Goth. *ausō*, "ear," M.H.G. *æse:* O.H.G. *ōra*, O.E. *ēare*, O.N. *eyra*.

4. Goth. *-basi*, "berry": O.H.G. *beri*, O.E. *berige*.

Goth. *eisarn*, "iron," O.N. *īsarn*, O.H.G. *īsarn*, *īsan:* O.E. *īren*, O.N. *iarn*. Cf. Noreen, Urg. Lautl., 135.

6. Goth. *fairzna*, "heel:" O.H.G. *fersana*, O.S. *fersna*, O.E. *fyrsn*, cf. Skt. *pā́rsnis*, Av. *pāšna-*.

7. Goth. *kas*, "vessel," *kasja*, "potter": O.H.G. *kar*, O.N. *ker*.

8. Goth. *raus*, "reed," O.H.G. *rūsa: rōr*, *rōra*, O.N. *reyr*.

9. Goth. *þaúrsus*, "dry," *ga-þairsan*, "to dry," *þaursjan*, etc: O.H.G. *durri*, cf. Skt. *trsús*.

10. Goth. *anda-wizn*, "necessity," *wizōn*, "to live": *wisan*, "to remain, to be.

11. Goth. *ubizwa*, "porch": O.H.G. *obisa*, O.N. *ups*, O.E. *efese*, "eaves."

12. Goth. *ahs-is*, "ear of grain," "O.N. *ax*: O.H.G. *ahir*, O.E. *ēar* < **ahur*.

13. Goth. *aqizi*, "ax": O.H.G. *acchus*, O.E. *æx*.

14. Goth. *razn*, "house," O.N. *rann*, O.E. *ærn*: *ræsn*.

Without variation are:—

15. Goth. *aiz*, "brass," O.N. *eir*, O.H.G. *ēr*, O.E. *ār* (Lat. *aes*, Skt. *áyas*).

16. Goth. *dius*, O.H.G. *tior*, O.S. *dior*, O.E. *dēor*, O.N. *dýr*.

17. Goth. *jukuzi*, "yoke," O.E. *gycer*.

18. Goth. *mimz*, "flesh," cf. Skt. *mansám*, Pruss. *mensa*.

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19. Goth. *riqiz*, "darkness," O.N. *røkkr*, cf. Skt. *rajas*.
20. Goth. *tuz-*, O.H.G. *zur-*, Goth. *uz-*, O.H.G. *ur*, *er*.
21. The case endings, cf. *iz-ei*, *hvaz-uh*, *hviz-uh*, *þanz-ei*. etc.

The examples given above show considerable variation in accent. It must be borne in mind, however, that on account of leveling this variation is not always as it appears. On the subject of accent-shifting in nominal inflection, compare especially Kluge, KZ, XXVI, 94 ff.; Osthoff, MU, IV, 73 ff.

In leveling Gothic has here as in the verb favored the surd spirant. E. g. *ahana*, *hūhrus*, *slahs*, *swaihrō*; *alþeis*, *blōþ*, *nauþs*; *asans*, *ausō*, etc. Compare with these O.H.G. *agana*, *hungar*, *slag*, *swigar*; *alt*, *bluot*, *nōt*; *arn*, *ōra*. It is very seldom that variation occurs within the same word in Gothic:—*guda*, *guþa*; *unfrōdans*, *unfrōþans*. The variation *h–ng* was retained in two instances in related words, not in the same word, however.

It is evident that there are words that owe their surd spirant not to a root-accent in the word itself, but to related words. For example, the *h* in *hūhrus* must be due to root-accent in some forms of that word, for there is no other source for it; but *swaihrō* was doubtless leveled to *swaihra*.

The variation that exists between Goth. *alþeis* and O.H.G. *alt*, O.S. *ald*, etc., is perhaps not original. Brugmann, Grundr. II, 126, suggests the possibility that *alþeis* may have been modeled after *niuji-s*. We should expect **alþs*, gen. **aldis*, since it is a *to*-participle to *alan*. The *þ* might have been generalized in Gothic from the comparative. We may suppose it was originally **aldás*, **álþizaz*, (cf. O.H.G. *elthiro*, O.N. *ellre*) **aldistás*.

In Goth. *baúrþei*: *ga-baúrþs* (*þ*) an original "gram. change" has been abandoned that is preserved in W.G. Here we do not need to supppose that Goth. *gabaurþs* represents a Germ. **gabúrþi-*, since it may have been leveled to an allied form.

Another instance of the same kind is Goth. *dauþus* : *dauþs*. Here the *þ* of the latter word is probably due to that of the former.

So too *asans* may have preserved its *s* from analogy of *asneis*.

The variation given above between Goth. *fairzna* and O.S. *fersna*, etc., is hardly due to accent. The Sanskrit accent together with the W.G. forms points toward an original root-accent. Since the later Germanic accent fell on the first syllable, Goth. *fairzna* would represent neither an I.E. nor a Germ. accent. Goth. *-faþs* (*a*) has not

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developed as we should expect from the accent of Skt. *páti*. This may be due to the fact that it was used only in compounds and thereby lost its accent. Cf. Verner, KZ, 23, 119.

Goth. *hleiduma*, if connected with O.H.G. *hlīta* and Gk. κλῑτύς (cf. Brugmann, Grundr. II, 159) has developed from an accent such as is seen in similar formations in Sanskrit, e. g. *adhamá, apamá*. The same accent is indicated by the ablaut of *fr-uma*. But Goth. *aúhuma, aúhumists*, O.E. *ȳmest* indicate a root-accent. For such an accent here compare Skt. *ántama*.

6. Accent-Variation in Suffixes.—We have here to note the different development of the same suffix as affected by accent.

1. *-tu̯-o-, -tu̯-ā*. *fija-þwa, frija-þwa, sali-þwa* : *þiwa-dw, gai-dw* (*ban-dwa, ni-dwa ?*).

2. *-tro- -trā-, -tlo- -tlā-*. *haír-þra, hlei-þra, maur-þr, smair-þr, wul-þr, haimō-þli, nē-þla* : *fō-dr*.

3. *-tero- -terā-*. *an-þar, hva-þar, wi-þra ; hva-þrō, jain-þrō, dala-þrō*, etc. : *hin-dar ; hi-drē, jain-drē*, etc.

4. *-to- -tā-*. *air-þa, ai-þs, bal-þa-ba, blō-þs, dau-þs, us-far-þō, un-frō-þans* (Gal. 3, 3.) *gil-þa, gul-þ, gu-þa* (plur.), *hul-þs, hliu-þ, kun-þs, mun-þs*, (*ra-þs ?*) *sō-þ*, (*slei-þs, slei-þa ?*) *sta-þs, ga-stō-þs, þiu-þ, wair-þs*, and the secondary suffix *-iþa* in *hauh-iþa, hlūtr-iþa, hrain-iþa*, and many others : *ahtu-da, niun-da*, etc., *bau-þs* (*d*), *un-fro-dans*, (Gal. 3, 1.) *gaír-da, gu-da* (plur.), *kal-ds, kun-ds, mō-þs, mul-da, naqa-þs, sa-þs, skan-da, skul-ds, þiu-da, wun-ds*, and the secondary suffix in *iun-da* and in *auþ-ida, wairþ-ida, weitwōd-ida*, Sk. 44 (but *-iþa* Mat. 8, 4). Here also belong all pret. parts. of weak verbs.

5. *-qo- -qā-*. *ainaha, bairgahei, broþrahans, stainahs, unbarnahs, þarihs, waúrdahs* : *ansteigs, audags, gabigs, gabeigs, grēdags, handugs, hrōþeigs, manags, mōdags, anda-nēmeigs, sineigs, þiuþeigs, uhteigs, uhtiugs, ga-wairþeigs, witwōdeigō, ga-wizneigs, wulþags, waúrstweigs, gadiliggs, skilliggs; juggs* (with *-ko-*.)

6. *-ti-, -tūti-, -ti̯o, -ti̯ā-*. *ga-baúrþs*, (*dulþs*), *ga-kunþai*, (Luke 3, 23) *ga-qumþs, magaþs, ga-mainþs, nauþs, ga-taúrþs, ajuk-duþs, ga-main-duþs, manag-duþs, mikil-duþs*: *alds, arbaiþs, brūþs, ga-dēþs, fahēþs, ga-faúrds, haúrds, knōþs, ga-kunds* (Gal. 5, 8) *ana-minds, ga-munds, naudi-* (*bandi*), *sēþs, staþs* ("place"), [1]*gahugds; awēþi, haiþi, kunþi, ga-minþi, raþjo*, (*-ti̯on-*), *and-wairþi, ga-wairþi*) : *hulundi, ailva-tundi* (O.H.G. *ewit, ouwiti*, O.E. *ēowea*).

[1] For different explanation, cf. Brugmann, Grundr. I. 406, and Kluge, PBB, IX, 153.

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7. *-tu-*, *-ātu-*. *dau-þus*, *fri-þa-(reiks)*, *qi-þus*, *lei-þus*, *li-þus*, *wri-þus*, *wul-þus*, *ga-baúrþj-ōþus*, *gaun-ōþus* : *aúhj-ōdus*, *flōdus*, *grun-du-(waddjus)*, *mannisk-ōdus*, *wrat-ōdus* (*skil-dus ?*).

8. *-ter-*. *brō-þar* : *fa-dar*.

9. *-t-*. *dul-þ-s*, *mēnō-þ-s* : *mita-þ-s* (*d*), *spaúr-d-s*, *weitwō-þ-s* (*d*).

10. *-nt-*. *tu-nþ-us* (O.E. *tōþ* < **ta-nþ-*) : *aiłva-tu-nd-i*, *hulu-nd-i*, *wi-nd-s*, *fija-nd-s*, *frijō-nd-s*, etc., and all present participles.

11. *-es-*, *-os-*. The genitive is here given where occurring or known: *agis-is*, *rimis-is*, *walwis-ōn* (weak verb) *ga-dīgis* (*ahs-is*, *þeihs-is*, *weihs-is*, *þlahs-jan*) : *aiz-is*, *hatiz-is*, *riqiz-is*, *bariz-eins*, *talz-jan*, *sigis*, *skaþis*, *swartiz-la*, *swartiz-a*. *-os-nā-*. *hlaiwasnōs* : *arłvazna*. *-usiā-* *-esiā-*, *aqizi*, *jukuzi* : O.H.G. *acchus*, O.E. *æx*, O.N. *øx*.

As some of the suffixes above given were productive, they sometimes occur in what would be an impossible form if regularly developed with the stem to which they are attached. For example, *hauhiþa* is an impossible combination from the standpoint of development. It must be a later formation, or else influenced by analogy. On the other hand, *auþida* and *wairþida* are quite possible ; and the fact that the form of the suffix, *-ida*, occurs in only three words makes it probable that these words are of early origin.

Of the words with the suffix *-es agis*, *rimis*, and **walwis* may be set down with *s* with reasonable certainty. The *s* of *agis* is seen in the derivatives of this stem, O.H.G. *egiso*, O.E. *egesa*. For the *s* of *ga-dīgis* there is no direct evidence. The low grade form of the root, however, compared with Gk. τεῖχος, may indicate an accent on the suffix. The forms *ahs*, *weihs*, *þeihs*, *þlahs-* are probably due to secondary assimilation. The development of *ahs* would be, we may suppose, **áhiz* > * *ahz* > *ahs*. Cf. O.H.G. *ahir*. Or the syncope, in some instances, may have taken place before the Germanic *lautverschiebung*.

With *z* we have *aiz-*, *hatiz-*, *riqiz-*, *bariz-*, *tal(i)z.*. For the first four compare O.H.G. *ēr*, O.N. *hatr*, *røkkr*, *barr*. The *z* of *sigis* seems probable from O.E. *sigor*, O.H.G. *sigir-ōn*. In *skaþis* the *þ* points to a root-accent, consequently the genitive ought to be **skaþizis*. We cannot be certain of this, however, since it may have been influenced by analogy.

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II. REDUPLICATING VERBS IN GERMANIC.

WITH all that has been written on the reduplicating verbs, it may seem like presumption to try to offer anything new. But the fact remains that they have not reached their final solution, although the work of Karl Ljungstedt, Anmärkningar till det starka pret. i germ. språk, Upsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1888, has done much in that direction. Nearly all who have written on the subject have assumed that the Gothic represents the only regular development, and have attempted to derive therefrom the forms in the W. and N.G.

So Germanists have had the impossible task of explaining O.H.G. *skiad* by Goth. *skaiskaid*, or O.H.G. *leof*, *liuf* by Goth. *haihlaup*. In accordance with this principle, Grimm, Gesch. d. d. Spr., p. 601; Grein, über Ablaut, etc., p. 30 ff.; Scherer, ZGDS[2], 267 ff.; Joh. Schmidt, Voc. II, 428 ff.; Kluge, QF, XXXII, 70 ff.; Hoffory, KZ, XXVII, 593 ff.; Holthausen, KZ, XXVII, 618 ff., and others.

Before trying to explain the forms we have before us, let us find out their origin. Here again Grimm leads the way, Gk.[1] II, p. 72 ff., Gesch. d. d. Spr., p. 598 ff., by pointing out that the reduplicating verbs are derived from the ablauting verbs. Following closely in his track Adolf Moller in a dissertation, Die red. Verba im D. als abgeleitete Verba, Göttingen, 1865, shows pretty conclusively that there was some connection between the ablauting and the reduplicating verbs. He says, p. 20: "Sind, wie wir glauben, die reduplicirenden Verba durch die wortbildende Kraft des deutschen Ablauts von den aublautenden Verben abgeleitet, so muss es ablautende Verba geben oder gegeben haben, aus welchen unsere reduplicirenden Verba entstanden sind."

Møller failed, however, to follow up the suggestion of Grimm, Gesch. d. d. Spr. p. 603, who expresses the possibility that O.H.G. *ia* in reduplicating verbs may have arisen, not from the contraction of an older reduplication, but from an original ablaut.

As originally ablauting verbs Ljungstedt considers the reduplicating verbs, and as such they will be treated here, and an attempt will be made to explain how this ablaut arose.

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Let us see first wherein the old method of regarding the preterit of reduplicating verbs as the result of contraction or analogy or both is a failure. Let us briefly review Hoffory's article, Die. red. Preterita im An. KZ, 27, 593 ff.; for this is the most ingenious that has been written from that standpoint on "unstreitig eins der schwierigsten capitel der deutschen grammatik." The preterit vowel he explains by a process of reduction and contraction and analogy. This process is due to a change of accent. For example, the development of O.N. *fell* is given thus: **féfall* > **fefáll* > **feféll* > **ffell* > *fell.*

Now if the accent **féfall* had existed there would hardly have arisen an accent **fefáll*, for that would be contrary to the Germanic tendency. It is also contrary to what we find in O.E. *heht, leolc, leort, dreord;* for these forms could arise only under an accent on the reduplicating syllable. And as the preterit vowel is practically the same in N. and W.G., we must assume that it had a common origin. Furthermore there is evidence that the root syllable of the pret. bore the accent. This is seen from O.N. *hell* < **helþ*, *fell* < **felþ*, *sera* < **sezō'*, *snera* < *snezō'*, and Goth. *saizlēþ*. It is evident therefore that *helt* and *felt* can have no place in Hoffory's scheme, since they are later analogical formations, *helt* being for **held*, and the *d* arising from the plur. *heldom.*

If now we abandon this method of explaining the preterit vowel by contraction and analogy, and see what we really have, we shall find a practical agreement on the part of the N. and W.G., that points toward a well established ablaut. We shall further see that there are forms that can be brought in agreement with the Gothic reduplicated preterits. This means that Germanic had more than one past tense for these verbs. That the perfect is not the only past tense represented in Germanic has been recognized in several instances by different scholars. For a summary of such instances compare Ljungstedt, Anm. till det starka pret., p. 3 f., and Kluge, Paul's Grundr. I, 375.

Now what I suppose to be the origin of the so-called reduplicating verbs is briefly this: Many of these verbs had the accent originally on the suffix. This caused a reduction of the root-vowel and a consequent similarity to the perfect, as will be seen later. These verbs therefore retained the reduplication in the perfect and also expressed past time by another tense having a different ablaut. Gothic, at least the Gothic that has come down to us, always made use of this reduplicated perfect. The N. and W.G., while retaining in a number of examples

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this reduplicated perfect, forms the preterit of these verbs for the most part from another past tense, an imperfect or an aorist.

We will divide these verbs into five classes represented by Gothic (1) *skaidan*, (2) *stautan*, (3) *haldan*, (4) *slēpan* and *lētan*, (5) *hwōpan*.

In the first class we have aorist-presents having a root with a long diphthong *ēi̯*. This diphthong under the accent would give Germanic close *ē*, Jellinek, PBB, XV, 297 ff., Sievers, ibid. XVIII, 409 f., Noreen, Urg. Lautlehre, p. 30 ff. In its reduced form it would appear in Germanic as *ai*, *i*, *i*. Cf. besides the references given above, Persson, Wurzelerweiterung, p. 117. Verbs with this diphthong when not accented on the suffix would fall together with verbs of the first ablaut-series. For this class arose the ablaut: (1) *ai̯*; (2) *ē* < *ēi̯*; (3) *ai̯* < *oi̯*; (4) *ai̯*. (1) *ai*, which is the middle grade, is found in the present, (3) *ai*, which developed from the shortened diphthong *oi̯* < *ōi̯*, in the perfect, and (4) *ai*, likewise reduced from *ēi̯*, in the pret. part.

And to what tense shall we assign (2) *ē*? There are two possibilities. It may be an imperfect of the normal type. That is, we may suppose that there existed a present of the normal type by the side of an aorist-present, as Gk. τρέπω and τράπω, τέμνω and τάμνω, or O.H.G. *firspirnit* and *spurnu*. In the present the aorist-present crowded out the normal type, but the normal type remained in the imperfect, because it was only through this type that there could be a difference of ablaut. That is as if the Greek had said τράπω but ἔτρεπον. Another possibility would be a root-aorist like Skt. *chēdam* from √*chid*. This method of forming the tenses applies to the other classes as well as this.

It shall next be our task to show what authority there is for assuming for verbs of this class a root with *ēi̯*.

Persson, Wurzelerweiterung, p. 119, sets down under the root (*s*)*mē-i̯* Goth. *aiza-smi-þa*, O.H.G. *smid*, *smeidar*, *mei-zan*, *mei-zil*, Goth. *mai-tan*. To the root *mē-i̯*, "to think," cf. Skt. *māyā*, belongs O.H.G. *meinan*. This verb, instead of following the type *skaidan*, went over to the weak conjugation. A similar case is O.E. *tēsan*, weak, but O.H.G. *zeisan*, reduplicating. O.H.G. *sweifan* and *swebēn* seem to be related, and this sets *sweifan* < Germ. **swaipan* into the *e*-series. To *skaidan* belong O.H.G. *scīt*, O.E. *scīde*, prov. Eng. *shide*, and also O.H.G. *scīzan*. These go back to an I.E. root *s̑khēi̯t*, *s̑khĕi̯d*. To the same root belong Skt. *chid*, Gk. σχίζω, Lat. *scindo*. This root in the form *s̑khēi̯t* has developed in Germanic an aorist-present, and in the form *s̑khĕi̯d* the normal type.

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From a root *stēigh* come Gk. στείχω, O.H.G. *stīgan*, "to ascend," and *stiega* < **stēga*, with *ē* < *ēi*, O.N. *stige*, "ladder." So too O.H.G. *kēn*, O.E. *cēn*, with *ē* < *ēi*, are connected with O.E. *cīnan*, Goth. *keinan*. From the above examples it will be seen that verbal roots containing the diphthong *ēi* develop in Germanic (1) verbs of the first ablaut series, (2) reduplicating verbs of the type *skaidan*, and (3) weak verbs.

Aside from the reduced form of the present there is other evidence that these verbs were not accented on the root-syllable. The *d* of *skaidan* plainly goes back to an I.E. *t*, as O.H.G. *skeidan* and O.S. *skēthan* show. It is not necessary to show further that Gothic favored the surd spirant in leveling. This is true even in words that had in nearly all the forms an accent on the suffix. An accent on the suffix might have given, from analogy of the perfect, the form **skaiþan*. A root-accent would certainly have given that. With Gothic agrees O.E. *scādan*. In O.H.G. the verb has *d* throughout. Very rarely do forms with *t* occur. For a similar leveling in O.H.G. compare *hladan*, *ubarwehan*. In O.S. occur in the present *skēthan*, *scēđan*, *scēdit* in C; *skēdan*, *skēdit* in M. In Fr.H. is found the part. pret. *giscēthan*. Taken all together, therefore, these forms speak for a suffix-accent.

	1	2	3	4
Goth.	*áikan*		*aiaik(um)*	*aikans*
	fraisan		*faifrais*	*fraisans*
	haitan		*haihait*	*haitans*
	laikan		*lailaik*	*laikans*
	maitan		*maimait*	*maitans*
	ga-þlaihan			
O.N.				*eikenn*
	haita (O.Gutn.)	*hīt* (O.Gutn.)	*hait* (run.)	
	heita	*hēt(om)*	*heit(om)*	*heitenn*
	leika	*lēk*		*leikenn*
	sueipa		*sueip*	*sueipenn*
O.H.G.	*heizan*	*hiaz(um)*		*giheizan*
	meizan	*miaz*		*gimeizan*
	skeidan	*skiad*		*giskeidan*
				gisceitan (K)
	sweifan	*swiaf*		*gisweifan*
	zeisan	*zias*		*gizeisan*
O.S.	*hētan*	*hiet, hēt(un)*		*gihētan*
	skēthan	*skēth*		*giscēthan*
	scēđan			
	scēdan			
		for-swēp		

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O.E.	*hātan*	*hēton*	*heht*	*gihāten*
	lācan	*lēc*	*leolc*	*gilācen*
	scādan	*scēd*	*scēad*	*giscāden*
	scēadan			

The vocalism of the above lists corresponds exactly with the ablaut as given. Gothic, it will be seen, uses only the perf. for the pret. O.N. and O.E. use the perf., column 3, and an imperfect (or aorist), column 2. The O.N. *hēt* and *lēk* are more easily explained as given, than to regard them with Noreen, Paul's Grundr. I, 511, as perfects.

The O.Gutn., W.N. *hīt* goes back to a Germ. **hīt*, with shortened diphthong *ei̯*.

O.E. *heht* < **hehet* < **hehat* < **hehāt* < **hehait*, and *leolc*, similarly developed, retain the reduplicating syllable. O.E. *scēad* for **scād*, like *scēadan* for *scādan* (Sievers, Ags. Gram. 76, 2), has lost this syllable.

O.H.G. and O.S. have abandoned the perf. in this class entirely. Still O.S. *skēth* could be regarded as a perf., since O.S. *ē* may come from Germ. *ai* or *ē*.

The second class, type *stautan*, is composed of verbs with the long diphthong *ēu̯*, having the accent on the suffix. This gave the ablaut: (1) *au*, (2) *eu*, (3) *au*, (4) *au*, in the pres., impf., perf., and part. pret. As *ai* developed from *ēi̯* and *ōi̯*, so *au* comes from *ēu̯* and *ōu̯*. For *au* of the perf. *u* may occur. The diphthong *eu̯* is shortened from *ēu̯*. Verbs with *ēu̯* would also give verbs of the second ablaut-series. As examples we may cite: *stautan*, O.H.G. *stōzan*, Lat. *tundō*, Skt. *tudā́mi*, M.H.G. *stutzen*, O.H.G. *diozan*, O.N. *þiōta*, O.E. *þēotan*, Goth. *stiur*, O.H.G. *stior* from the root *s-tēu̯-d*. Cf. Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 230 f., and further on root-variation of *s-teud-*, *s teub-* and *s-teug-*, G. Ehrismann, PBB, XVIII, 215 ff.

O.E. *a-hnēapan*, "to pick off," Goth. *dishniuþan*, "to tear," O.Sw. *niupa*, "to pinch," from the root *knēu̯b-*.

O.E. *hrēowan*, "to rue," forms a pret. *hrēow* as if from a present **hrēawan*. This is connected with O.H.G. *rō*, "raw," O.S. *hrā*, etc., < **hrēwa-*; Gk. κρέας, Skr. *kravis* from the root *krēu̯* : *kreva*, *krū*. Cf. Prellwitz, Etym. Wtb. sub. κρέας.

O.H.G. *scrōtan*, "to cut," O.N. *skriōðr*, "shred," O.E. *scrēade* and the denominative *scrēadian*. O.H.G. *houwan*, "to hew," Lat. *cū-dō* < **ceudō*. From √*dhēu̯-* comes Gothic **diwan*, which has gone over to the fifth ablaut-series; O.N. *deyia* < **dawjan*, pret. *dō* < **dōw*;

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O.H.G. *touwen*, *teuuen*, weak verb. These verbs may easily go back to the same formation. We have here a *-i̯o*-present with the accent on the suffix, **dhau̯-ió-*, in which *dhau̯-* is the middle grade of *dhēu̯-*. In Gothic the normal type was restored, and as Germanic *deu̯-* before vowels gave Goth. *diw-*, it fell into the fifth class. In the O.H.G. the verb became weak like many other *i̯o*-presents. In O.N. *deyia* < **dawjan* went over to the sixth class of strong verbs, after the analogy of *hefia* < **hafjan*, *kefia* < **kafjan*, *skepia* < **skapjan*, etc. This change took place, of course, before the vowel of the present was umlauted. Perhaps the *i̯o*-suffix prevented this verb from developing like *houwan*.

O.E. *hēofan* forms the pret. *hēaf* and *hēof*. The last form presupposes an inf. **hēafan*, for it would hardly arise in connection with *hēofan*. If we assume a root *kēu̯p-* forming an aorist-present, it would give O.E. **hēafan*. That this verb probably was an aorist-present is seen from O.H.G. *hiuban*, O.S. *hioðan*, so that we must set down for the Germanic form **χauðō'* or *χūðō'*. In any case the verb in its present form is not historically correct, but is a restoration of the normal type.

From the examples given it is apparent that reduplicating verbs of the type *stautan* have roots containing the diphthong *eu̯*. After this type was formed, which would be soon after the change I.E. *o* > Germ. *a*, other verbs of different origin were added. This applies to all classes of reduplicating verbs. An example of this may be Goth. *aukan*, O.N. *auka*, in which is the reduced root *au̯g*, seen in Lat. *augeō*. The by-form *au̯eg* is in Gk. ἀϝέξειν.

The ablaut for the verbs of Class II is: (1) *au*, (2) *eu*, (3) *au(u)*, (4) *au*.

	1	2	3	4
Goth.	*aukan*		*aiauk(um)*	*aukans*
	stautan			
	hlaupan			
	(*bauan*, *bnauan*)			
O.N.	*auka*	*iōk(om)*		*aukenn*
		iukom		
	ausa	*iōs(om)*		*ausenn*
		iusom		
	(*h*)*laupa*	(*h*)*liōp(om)*	(*h*)*lupum*	(*h*)*laupenn*
	(O.Norw.)	*liūpum*	*laupum*	
	hǫggua	*hiug(g)* *hiog(g)*	*hiō*, *hioggom*	*hǫgguen*
			huggo	
	būa		[*biō*, *bioggom*]	*būenn*

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O.H.G.	*hlaufan*			
	loufan	*leof(um)* *liof(un)*	M.H.G. *luffen*	*giloufan*
		liuf(en)		
	houwan	*hio(wun)*		*gihouwan*
		hiu(wen)		
	scrōtan	*screot(d)*	*screròt*	*giscrōtan*
	stōzan	*stiozomes*	*sterōz(un)*	*gistōzan*
		stiaz		
	būan		[*biruun*] (M.H.G. *gibūwen*)	
O.S.	*hlōpan* (M)	*hliopon*		
	(C)	*hliepun*		
	stōtan (Oxf.gl.)	*stiet*	(Strsb.gl.)	*testōtan*
	hauwan	*heu*		*gihauwan*
O.E.	*hlēapan*	*hlēop(on)*		*hlēapen*
	bēatan	*bēot*		*bēaten*
	hēawan	*hēow*		*hēawen*
	ā-hnēapan	*-hnēop*		*-hnēapen*
		genēop		
		hēof		
		hrēow		

An examination of the verbs of this class ought to convince any one that they are ablauting verbs. Here I follow Ljungstedt, Anm. till det st. pret., p. 126 ff., and Noreen, Paul's Grundr. 511, more closely than in Class I; or I ought rather to say that I *agree* more closely, since I had substantially the same explanation for the reduplicating verbs as here given, before I knew of Ljungstedt's work in this field.

Aside from the reduced vowel of the pres., there is no certain evidence that these verbs were aorist-presents. *Scrōtan* is the only verb that might cast light upon the subject. If this goes back to an I.E. root with final *t*, which it may do, then the accent of that verb is settled. The pret. of this verb in O.H.G. is *screot* and *screod*. The *d* of the latter form may be the survival of the Germanic *þ*, for in this form the accent was on the root-syllable, and consequently may represent I.E. *t*.

Goth. *bauan*, O.N. *būa*, etc., probably does not belong here except by analogy. It is certainly better to explain the O.N. *biō* and *bioggom* by analogy pure and simple, than to attempt, with Noreen, to derive *biō* from **þeþōw*. To derive *hiō* from **hehōw* is quite different, since medial *h* disappears. O.N. *hlupum* and M.H.G. *luffen* are parallel, both showing the *tiefstufe*. O.H.G. *biruun* is plainly after the analogy of *steroz* and *screrot*.

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Other verbs that would naturally belong here have gone into Class V. Such a verb is Goth. *b-naua*, O.N. *g-nūa*, M.N.G. *niuwen*. To the same root belongs, as Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg suggests, perhaps Goth. *naubs*, O.H.G. *nōt*, M.L.Frc. *ver-nōien*. Here too O.N. *snūa*, which goes back to a root *snē-u̯*, *snō-u̯*. To this root belong Skt. *snāvan*, Gk. νεῦ-ρον (*σνηυ-ρον), Goth. *sniwan* and *sniu-mjan* and perhaps *sniu-han*, O.E. *snēowan* and *snōwan*, *snū-d* and *snō-d*, *snēo-me*, O.H.G. *sniu-mo*, *snuo-r*, Goth. *snō-rjō*, etc. Cf. especially, Persson, Wurzelerweiterung, p. 143, and Noreen, Urg. Lautl. pp. 35, 85.

To the root-form *snēu̯* would belong Goth. *sniwan*, which like *diwan* has gone over to the fifth class of ablauting verbs, and further *sniumjan* and *sniuhan*, and O.E. *snēowan*, *snēome*, etc. To *snōu̯* belong O.N. *snūa*, O.E. *snōwan*, O.H.G. *snuor*, etc.

The third class of reduplicating verbs, type *haldan*, contains aorist-presents of the third class of ablauting verbs. The ablaut for this class is: (1) *l̥̄*, *n̥̄*, (2) *el*, *en*, (3) *ol*, *on* (*l̥*, *n̥*), (4) *l̥̄*, *n̥̄*. By *l̥̄*, *n̥̄* I mean what de Saussure, Mém., p. 239 ff., followed by others, calls long sonant liquids and nasals, and what others regard as another *tiefstufe* by the side of *l̥*, *n̥*, of *el*, *en*. Cf. C. C. Uhlenbeck, PBB, XVIII, 561 f., and references there given. After all the difference is rather one of name than of fact. The Germanic form for this ablaut is (1) *al*, *an*, (2) *el*, *in*, (3) *al*, *an* (*ul*, *un*), (4) *al*, *an*.

Let us first show that these verbs, or at least those that formed the type, were not accented on the root-syllable. This is seen from Goth. *haldan*, O.N. *halda*, O.S. *haldan*, O.H.G. *haltan*; Goth. *staldan*; O.H.G. *spaltan*, and perhaps *scaltan*, O.S. *skaldan*; Goth. *waldan*, O.H.G. *waltan*, O.N. *walda* (with suffix *-to-*, not *-dho-* as Brugmann, Grundr. II, p. 1051, gives, since otherwise we should not find O.N. *olla*, *ullum*); O.N. *falda*, O.H.G. *faltan*. The last verb is in Gothic *falþan*, and in O.H.G. also *faldan*. In these the *þ* (*d*) has been generalized from forms having the accent on the root-syllable, as in the sing. perf., or from a by-form **pélto*. The *ld* in O.E. is doubtful, since that may come from Germanic *ld̥* or *lþ*.

Secondly, as to the connection of these verbs with those of Class III of the ablauting verbs, compare von Fierlinger, KZ, XXVII, 436 ff. Proof for this we have in abundance, the same verb developing in different ways, sometimes with difference of meaning. Thus we have O.H.G. *scaltan*, "to push," *sceltan*, "to scold;" O.H.G. *walzan*, O.N. *velta*; O.H.G. *wallan* and *wellan*, O.N. *vella* and *valla*; Goth. *blandan*, cf. *blinds* and Lith. *blendas*; O.H.G. *spaltan*, cf. Goth. *spilda*,

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O.N. *speld;* O.H.G. *gangan*, O.N. *gingr*, 3d sing. pres. to *ganga*, Lith. *žengiu;* O.Sw. *halpa*, O.N. *hialpa;* O.H.G. *walkan*, perhaps akin to *wallan*, *wellan*, with different suffix.

After the formation of this type other verbs were added that do not properly belong here. So Goth. *fāhan*, *hāhan*, which belong to the sixth ablauting class, but were drawn to this class because the nasal was generalized. Still *fāhan* may belong here if we connect it with M.H.G. *vëgen*. In that case the O.N. part. pret. *fingenn*, which presupposes an inf. **finga* (cf. Noreen, Aisl. Gram.[2] § 431, A. 5) would not be after the analogy of *gingenn*.

Other additions to this class are Goth. *us-alþan*, cf. *alþeis* and *alan;* Goth. *saltan*, cf. Lat. *sal;* O.H.G. *bannan* < **bhə-nu̯ō*, √*bhā-;* O.H.G. *spannan*, similarly formed from √*spē-*, cf. Lat. *spē-s*, and O.H.G. *spanan*, O.E. *sponan* of the sixth ablauting class. These were early additions; later others were added.

The verbs of this class may be tabulated as follows:

	1	2	3	4
Goth.	*haldan*		*haihald (um)*	*haldans*
	falþan		*faifalþ*	*falþans*
	blandan			
	waldan			
	fāhan		*faifāh*	*fāhans*
	hāhan		*haihāh*	*hāhans*
	us-alþan			
	ana-praggan			
	saltan			
O.N.	*blanda*	*blett, blendom*		*blandenn*
	falda	*fell, feldom*		*faldenn*
		felt		
	falla	*fell (om)*	E.N *fal(l), fullo*	*fallenn*
	halda	*hell, heldom*	" *huldo*	*haldenn*
		helt		
	halpa (O.Sw.)	*hialp*		
	valda		*valt* [*oldo*]	
	ganga	*gekk, gingom*		*gengenn*
	3d sing. *gingr*			*gingenn*
	hanga	*hekk, hengom*		*hangenn*
	fā	*fekk, fingom*		*fangenn*
	fanga (O.Sw.)			*fingenn*
O.H.G.	*haltan*	*hialt (um)*		*gihaltan*
	faldan (-tan)	*-ia-*		*-a-*
	scaltan			
	spaltan			

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O.H.G.	*waltan*, *salzan*, *walzan*	*–ia–*	*–a–*
	fallan	*fial(un)*	*gifallan*
	wallan	*wial(un)*	*giwallan*
	bannan	*bian(un)*	*gibannan*
	spannan	*spian(un)*	*gispannan*
	blantan	*bliant*	*giblantan*
	gangan	*giang(um)*	*gigangan*
		kenc, gengum	
	fāhan	*fiang(um)*	*gifangan*
		infenc, kafengum	
		intphiec, intphiegun	
	hāhan	*hiang(um)*	*gihangan*
		arhenc	
	erien, erren	*iar(un)*	*giaran*
O.S.	*blandan*	*blend(un)*	*giblandan*
	fallan	*fel(l), fellun* (*–ie–*)	*gifallan*
	wallan	*wel(l), wellun*	*giwallan*
		anwillun	
	skaldan	*skeld(un)*	*giskaldan*
	haldan, *waldan*, *gangan*	*–e–* (*–ie–*)	*–a–*
	fāhan (*fanga*, Ps.)	*feng(un)* (*–ie–*)	*–a–*
	hāhan	*heng(un)*	*–a–*
	spannan	*–e–*	*–a–*
O.E.	*blondan*	*blend(on)*	*blonden*
	fōn	*feng(on)*	*fongen*
	hōn	*heng(on)*	*hongen*
	feallan	*feoll(on)*	*feallen*
	weallan, *fealdan*, *healdan*, *stealdan*, *wealdan*, *sealtan*, *wealtan*, *wealcan*	*–eo–*	*–ea–*
	bonnan	*–eo–*	*–o–*
	sponnan	*–eo–, –e–*	*–o–*
	gongan	*geong(on), geng gang*	*gongen*

To the Gothic list should probably be added *us-staggan*, to which the impv. *usstagg* occurs Mat. 5 : 29. This has been changed by the editors to *usstigg* — unjustifiably so. Goth. *staggan* and O.E. *stingan* furnish another example of the double development shown above.

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Compare also the O.N. *þrøngr* < **þrangwiR*, and *sløngua*, formed from a **sløngr*, which might also have developed into reduplicating verbs if the normal type had not been restored. In the double forms given above, O.H.G. *wallan* and *wellan*, etc., it is impossible to say whether the forms with *ë* are restorations of the normal type, or whether both go back to original double forms. The latter is perhaps most frequently the case.

The vowel of the pret. formed from the imperf. is *ë*, as O.N., O.S, and O.E., as well as O.Fr. and M.L.Franc. show. Before *n*+cons. this vowel would become *i*. Such we find it in O.N., with later *e*, and generally in O.Fr. and M.L.Franc. In O.N. the *ia*, *io* found in such forms as *hialp*, *fiollo* are the result of breaking. See Noreen, Aisl. Gram.[2] p. 60 ff. The *ia* of O.H.G. is after the analogy of *skiad*, of Class I and *riat* of Class IV. The forms *kenc*, *fenc*, etc., point toward an earlier **held*, **feld*, etc., after which they were modeled. The forms *intphiec*, *intphiegum* may have arisen, as Paul, PBB, VI, 544 suggests, from a partial assimilation. The development would be **fiðχ* > **fīh* > **fīg* > *fiec*. O.H.G. *erren* is the only verb of this class with *r*, though this is purely accidental. It may have been added to this class entirely by analogy, or may really go back, in its pre-Germanic form, to a root containing *e*. Cf. Goth. *airþa*, O.H.G. *erda* and *ero*, O.E. *eorþe* and *eard* (< **ar-tós*), Gk. ἔρ-αζε. O.S. *geng*, *feng*, etc., owe their *e* for *i* to the other verbs, which regularly have *e*. The *ie*, which occasionally occurs, arose as the O.H.G. *ia*.

In O.E. the *a* of the pres. becomes *o* before *n*, and is broken to *ea* before *l*+cons. The vowel of the pret. (imperf.) was *e*, which it has remained in *blend*, *heng*, etc., for an older **blind*, **hing*, etc. The force of analogy is very apparent here, since in O.E. *ë* before nasals even when not followed by a consonant becomes *i*. The *eo* in verbs with *l*+cons. is the result of breaking; in *beonn*, *speonn*, *geong* after the analogy of these. This *eo* held its ground, since the second class already had *eo*.

Remains of the old reduplicated perf. are found in O.N. and the O.E. *gang*. W.N. *oldo*, O.Sw. *foll* and *holdo* Noreen regards as aorists, Paul's Grundr. I, 512.

From the examples and explanations given we may consider it proved: (1) that these verbs differ from those of the ablauting Class III only in their development, retaining forms that the others have abandoned; (2) that the *al*, *an* of the pres. and of the part. pret. represents the long low grade of *el*, *en*; (3) that the *el*, *in* of N. and W.G. in the

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pret. represents the high grade of the root; (4) that the *al*, *an* in the pret. of all the dialects has developed from the I.E. *ol*, *on* of the perf.; and (5) it has been further shown that the Germ. form, especially of *el*, *in*, has been modified in the various dialects by analogy and by the laws peculiar to each dialect.

As Classes I and II of these verbs come from verbal roots with *ēi̯* and *ēu̯*, so Class III may come from roots with *ēl*, *ēn* (*ēr*). It would then be exactly parallel with the others. The *al*, *an* of the pres., plur. perf., and part. pret. could then represent I.E. *al*, *an* < *əl*, *ən*. This gives the best explanation of the *al*, *an* of the plur. perf., where we should expect *ul*, *un*. This does occur rarely, and may be after the analogy of verbs of ablauting Class III, or be the regularly developed lowest grade *l̥*, *n̥*. This would also explain the *al*, *an* of the part. pret. The *el*, *in* of the pret. (imperf.) would go back to pre-Germanic *el*, *en* from I.E. *ēl*, *ēn*. So Streitberg, Zur germ. Sprachgeschichte, p. 71, would be right in his surmise that the *e* in the pret. of these verbs comes from a long vowel. He is wrong, however, in the way he understands the development here.

To begin with the *e* of the O.N. *fekk*, O.E. *feng*, Isidor's *feng* goes back to an original *i*, as the O.N. plainly shows, and this *i* was again changed (though not in O.N. till comparatively late) after the analogy of *felt*, *helt*, etc. So, of course, the *e* in *fekk*, *felt*, etc., does not go back to Germ. *ǣ* (< I.E. *ē*), since the I.E. *ē* in this position was shortened, as he points out, but it may very well go back to I.E. *ē*, and the development would be the same as in O.H.G. *fersana* < **pē'rsnā*, and of *wint* < **u̯ēntós*.

To the fourth class of reduplicating verbs, type *slēpan* and *lētan*, belong verbs with *ǣ* in the pres., followed by a vowel or a single consonant. There is no evidence here that the accent was on the suffix. In fact, O.N. *blāsa*, O.H.G. *blāsan*, Goth. *blēsan* point the other way, though this is not conclusive, since there is no "gram. change" in the verb.

In Gothic the perf. of *slēpan* has a different ablaut from that of *lētan*. In the other dialects this difference is not so apparent, yet it has not entirely disappeared. E. g., O.N. *sera* < **sezō'* has the same ablaut as Goth. *saisô* and Gk. ἔωκα. Similarly E.N. *lōt*, Goth. *lailōt;* but O.Sw. *lāt*, *grāt* with the vowel of *saislēp*. O.N. *lēt* has still another vowel, viz. Germ. *ē* < *ēi̯*. We may set up, therefore, the following scheme for this class:

I.E.	(1) *ē*,	(2) *ēi̯*,	(3) *ē*, *ō*,	(4) *ē*.
Germ.	(1) *ǣ*,	(2) *ē*,	(3) *ǣ*, *ō*,	(4) *ǣ*.

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It is doubtful whether these correspond in tense to the schemes given before. Besides the vowels here, we find in the pret. of O.N. *ei* and *i*, which represent Germanic *ai* and *i* (perhaps from *ī*). These would represent the reduced *ēi̯*, and would be added to (2). For Goth. *slēpan*, *saislēp* Holthausen, KZ, XXVII, 619, gives the abiaut *ē*, *ē*, which he withdraws, Anz.fdA, XVII, 188. The explanation advanced by Kluge, Paul's Grundr. I, 356, was no ground for his doing so. The *ē* of O.S., O.E. *slēp*, O.N. *lēt*, cannot be compared to the *ē* of Goth. *saizlēp* unless we make it different from the *ē* of *slēpan*, but the two were doubtless alike, as was shown above by O.Sw. *lāt*, *grāt*, preterits to *lāta*, *grāta*. Nor can we compare the *ē* of *slēp* to that of *weldēs*; since *slēp* was under the accent. Hence we must separate Goth. *saislēp* from O.H.G. *sliaf*, O.S., O.E. *slēp*.

Evidence for the ablaut *ēi̯* we have as follows:—Goth. *lētan*, Lith. *lėidmi*, Lat. *lassus*, *lūdus*, *loidos*, cf. Gk. λοῖσθος; O.N. *blāsa*, *blīs-tra*; O.E. *slāpan*, O.H.G. *slāfan*, O.E. *tō-slīpan*; O.H.G. *slīfan*; O.H.G. *heisi*, "hoarse," O.E. *hwīs-crian*, O.N. *huīs-la*, "to whisper," O.E. **hwēsan* (*hwēos*); Goth. *grētan*, O.E. *grētan*, O.N. *grāta*, O.S. *griotan*, O.E. *grōtan*, from roots *ghrē-i̯* and *ghrē-u̯*; similarly O.N. *hnūpa*, Goth. *dis-hniupan* from roots *knēi̯b* and *knēu̯b*. Cf. for these and similar comparisons, Persson, Wurzelerweiterung, 117 ff, Noreen, Urg. Lautl., pp. 67 ff., 217.

	1	2	3	4
Goth.	*slēpan*		*saislēp*(*um*)	*slēpans*
			saizlēp(*um*)	
	blēsan			
	lētan		*lailōt*(*um*)	*lētans*
	saian		*saisō*(*um*)	*saians*
O.N.	*blāsa*	*blēs*(*om*)		*blāsenn*
	grāta	*grēt*(*om*), *greit*		*grātenn*
		O.Sw. *grēt*, *gritun*	*grāt*	
	lāta	*lēt*(*om*)		*lātenn*
		leit, *litom*	E.N. *lōt*	
		O.Sw. *lēt*, *litum*	*lāt*	
	rāđa	*rēđ*(*om*), *reiđ*		*rāđenn*
	sā		*sera*	*sāenn*
O.H.G.	*rātan*	*rēt*, *riat*(*um*)		*girātan*
	lāzan	*liaz*(*um*)		*gilāzan*
		Is. *fir-leizl*		
	slāfan	*sliaf*(*um*)		*gislāfan*
	(*blāan*)			*zi-plāhannēr*

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O.S.	*slāpan*	*slēp(un)*		*gislāpan*
	lātan	*lēt(un), liet(un)*		*gilātan*
	sāian	*sēu*		
	sēhan			
O.E.	*drǣdan*	*drēd(on)*	*dreord*	*drǣden*
	lǣtan	*lēt(on)*	*leort*	*lǣten*
	rǣdan	*(rēd(on))*	*reord*	*rǣden*
	blāwan	*blēow(on)*		*blāwen*
	North. *blēw, blēwu, blēwun*			

Like Goth. *lētan* are *grētan, tēkan, rēdan;* like *saian* are *waian* and *faian*. The pret. to the last-named verb does not occur; but it is to be placed here, since it goes back to a root *pēi̯*, cf. *fijan*, Lat. *pēior*, Persson, Wz. 426.

To the O.H.G. list belong further *bāgan, brātan, in-trātan, far-wāzan*. The verbs whose stems end in *ā* have become weak, with the exception of a few forms of the strong part. pret. to *blāan*.

To the O.S. list belong *brādan, ant-drādan, grātan, rādan, thrāan, biknēgan* (with *ē* retained as in *sēhan*).

The O.E. list includes further **hwǣsan, clāwan, cnāwan, crāwan, māwan, sāwan* (*sǣwan*), *þrāwan, wāwan*, and *swāpan*, which properly belongs to class I, O.N. *sueipa*, O.H.G. *sweifan*.

A few words need to be added to what has already been said on the ablaut of this class. Under (3) we have united perfects in I.E. *ē* and *ō*. Under (2) there is perhaps more than one tense included. The *ē* of O.N. *blēs(om)* is the same as that of *hēt(om)*. The *ei* of O.N. *greit* and the *ē* of O.Sw. *grēt* come from Germ. *ai*, which may represent the reduced *ēi̯* or *ōi̯*.

A further reduced ablaut is in O.Gutn. *līt*, cf. *hīt* above and the lowest grade in O.Sw. *gritom*. If these forms are not entirely analogical, they prove beyond a doubt that these verbs had roots in *ĕi̯*. Like *lata, lōt* is *taka, tōk*, which has gone over entirely to the sixth ablauting class. The vowel of O.H.G. *rēt, reat, riat, riet* goes with that of O.N. *blēs*. O.H.G. *leiz* is exactly O.N. *leit*. O.S. regularly has *ē* in the pret., but beside this *ie*. O.E. has *ē* in *drēd(on)* and *lēt(on)*, but *ēo* in verbs in *āw*, except in North., which has *ē* here too by the side of *ēa*=*ēo*. The origin of this *ēow* is *ēw* > *ēuw* > *ēow*. This development was further aided by analogy with the *ēo* of Class II.

The O.E. verbs in *-āw-* are especially interesting, since they have not gone over to the weak conjugation, but show the original condition. These are represented in the other dialects for the most part by

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weak verbs. Thus: *blāwan*, O.H.G. *blāen; clāwan*, O.N. *klǣia* and *klā; cnāwan*, O.H.G. *knāen; crāwan*, O.H.G. *krāen; māwan*, O.H.G. *māen; sāwan* (*sǣwan*), O.H.G. *sāen; þrāwan*, O.H.G. *drāen; wāwan*, O.H.G. *wāen*.

In O.H.G. with the exception of a few forms of *blāen* these are all weak. O.S. has retained a few strong forms of *sāian, þrāan, biknēgan*. O.N. has preserved only *sā*, which may also be conjugated weak. Why have these verbs become weak? For this reason. They go back to presents formed from the root $+\bar{e}+\underline{i}o-$. See Brugmann, Grundr. II, 1087. Now it is these very *i̯o–* presents that have most frequently gone over to the weak conjugation, because they fell together in form with the causatives and denominatives. In O.E., however, the *j* was not there to cause this similarity. How is this to be explained? Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 62, assumes that the *āw* in O.E. *blāwan*, etc., comes from *aiw*, comparing Goth. *saian, waian*, and the development seen in Goth. *snaiws, aiw;* O.E. *snāw, ā*. But the two cases are not parallel. In Goth. *snaiws, aiw*, the *ai* is a real diphthong; but in *saian, waian* the *ai* represents I.E. *ē*. Cf. Bremer, PBB, XI, 51 ff. That is, O.E. *blāwe* (for **blāwu*) comes from an earlier **blāu*, and that, it is supposed, from **blāju*>**blāi̯ō*>**bhl-ē-i̯ō*. The *w* in O.E. is a transition sound, which could not have developed while *j* stood between the vowels. But in these verbs there is no trace of a *j*. There is no evidence that *j* ever disappeared between vowels in O.E. before causing umlaut. Intervocalic *j* caused umlaut in: *hīeg*, (**hauja–*), *hīew, glīg, īeg, frīgea* and also *fréa*<**frīe*(*j*)*a* (cf. *hēan*<**hīehan*<**hauhjan*, Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 408, 4) *cīegan* (Ps. *cēgan*, North. *ceiga, ceia*), *hēgan*, (O.N. *heyia*), *strēgan*, and others. There is no sure case of the loss of intervocalic *j* without causing umlaut.

It is pretty evident, therefore, that there was no *j* in O.E. *blāwan, clāwan*, etc. In other words the only explanation possible is to adopt that given by Bremer, PBB, XI, 73, for Goth. *saia*<**sēō*<**sēmi*. Cf. also Möller, Anz. fd A. XX, 119.

These verbs, then, had originally the athematic and the *i̯o–* inflection side by side. In O.E. the *i̯o–* inflection was crowded out entirely, unless we except *sǣwan*, which may be an umlauted form. Like O.E. are O.N. *sā* and *klā* (for which also *klǣia*). The O.H.G. forms are ambiguous, since these, at least in M.H.G., went over without exception to the *i̯o–* inflection.

The O.E. verbs in *–ōw–* of the next class are also not *i̯o–* presents. Germ. **blōi̯ō* could give nothing but O.E. **blēwe*. (Cf. my

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article: Apparent Absence of Umlaut in O.E., Mod. Lang. Notes, X, 347 ff.

To the fifth class of reduplicating verbs belong stems with *ō* in the present. Several of these are *i̯o*– presents, and have in consequence, in one dialect or another, become weak. Such are: Goth. *hrōpjan*, O.H.G. *ruofen* (but also *ruofan*, strong); Goth. *wōpjan*, O.N. *ōpa*, O.H.G. *wuofen* (*wuofan*); Goth. *swōgjan*. We have here doublets, with and without the *i̯o*– formation, which go back to I.E. or at least pre-Germanic time. Compare also Goth. **flōkan* with Gk. πλήσσω < *plāq-i̯ō*, √*plāq*–, *plāg*–. Other verbs originally belonging here but which have become weak in some dialects are presents in –*ō-i̯o*. It is not always certain whether the *ō* is a part of the root or an addition, whether for example we should write **spō-i̯ō* or **sp-ō-i̯ō*. Germ. –*ō-i̯o*– may come in some instances from I.E. –*ā-i̯o*–, as O.E. *grōwan*, Lat. *grā-men;* O.E. *hlōwan*, Lat. *cl-ā-mor*.

Verbs of this kind that have given up the –*i̯o*– inflection are O.E. *blōwan*, *flōwan*, *grōwan*, *hlōwan*, *rōwan*, *spōwan*, O.N. *rōa*, *grōa*, Goth. **lauan*. To these we may also add O.E. *snōwan*, which is usually referred to a stem *snōu̯*–. Cf. Persson, Wurzelerweiterung, 143; Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 35; Streitberg, Zur germ. Sprachgsch. p. 101. Between O.E. *snōwan* and O.N. *snūa*, according to Streitberg, exists the ablaut *ōu̯; ū*, and O.E. *snēowan* he regards as a new formation. But starting with *snēowan* from a root *snĕu̯*–, we can explain *snōwan* as coming from a root *sn-ō*–. The development would be exactly the same as in *flōwan* from a root *pl-ō*–, and Gk. πλέϝω from *pleu̯*–. We should have then the proportion:

snēowan : *snōwan* = πλέϝω : *flōwan*.

The ablaut for the fifth class of reduplicating verbs is hard to determine. The pret. in N. and W.G., where not a reduplicated perf., is probably entirely analogical. This confusion may have been brought in by the verbs in –*ō*-(*i̯o*–), which have a close connection with those in *ē*-(*i̯o*–). Thus, O.E. *blōwan: blāwan* (roots *bhl-ō*–: *bhl-ē*); O.E. *flōwan:* Lat. *pleo;* O.E. *rōwan:* Lat. *rēmus;* O.E. *spōwan:* O.Ch.Sl. *spĕ-ją;* O.E. *snōwan:* Gk. ἔ-νννη, O.H.G. *nā-en*.

This similarity of meaning would make the confusion more natural. Compare especially O.E. *blād*, fem., "blossom," which in meaning corresponds to *blōwan*, but in formation to *blāwan;* and *blād*, mas., which combines the meanings of both verbs in "blast" (*blāwan*, "to blow") and "prosperity" (*blōwan* "to bloom," "to flourish").

The ablaut as we find it is seen in the following lists.

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	1	2	3	4
Goth.	*hvōpan*		*hvaihvōp* (*um*)	*hvōpans*
	**flōkan*		*faiflōkun*	
	**lauan*		*lailōun*	
O.N.	*blōta*	*blēt* (*om*)		*blōtenn*
	rōa		*rera*, *rørom*	*rōenn*
	grōa		[*grera*, etc.]	*grōenn*
	snūa		*snera*, etc.	*snūenn*
	gnūa		[*gnera*, etc.]	*gnūenn*
O.H.G.	*bluozan*	*bleoz*	*pleruzzun*	*gibluozan*
	(*h*)*ruofan*	(*h*)*reof*		*giruofan*
	wuofan	*wiof*		*giwuofan*
O.S.	*hrōpan*	*hriop* (M) *hreop* (C)		*gihropan*
		hriep (C) *hreopun* (CM)		
		hriopun (M) *hriapun* (Ess.gl.)		
	wōpian	*wiep* (C) *wiop* (M) *wiopun* (CM)		
		opt. *wiopin* (CM) *wēpin* (C)		
O.E	*hrōpan*	*hrēop* (*on*)		*hrōpen*
	wēpan	*wēop* (*on*)		*wōpen*
	blōwan	*blēow* (*on*)		*blōwen*

A glance at the above lists shows that we do not have a uniform ablaut to begin with. Nor could it be otherwise, since this is a composite class, and does not go back to one I.E. type.

The vowel of most of the preterits in column (2) may represent Germanic *ē*. The *ē* of O.N. *blēt* could be nothing else. The *ē*, *ie*, *ia*, *io*, *eo* of O.S. may all represent *ē*. The *ēow* in O.E. *blēow*, *flēow*, etc., may have arisen as in *blāwan*: *ēow*<*ēuw*<*ēw*.

On the other hand, all these forms except O.N. *blēt* and O.S. *wēpin* may be after the analogy of preterits having the regular development from Germanic *eu*. In any case it must be admitted that this class has suffered more disturbance than any other, and the ablaut as it now appears in N. and W.G. is largely the result of analogy.

The forms in column (3) more nearly agree in their ablaut: *rera*< **rerō*. But *grera* is probably, and *gnera* certainly, an analogical formation. Still in *grera* it is possible to see the type of reduplication found in Lat. *steti*. The same type seems to occur in O.H.G. *pleruzzun* <**blerutun*<**blelutun*. Cf. Osthoff, PBB, VIII, 540 ff.

There is difficulty, however, in explaining the ablaut of *pleruzzun*. It cannot come from Germanic *u*. The form should perhaps be written with a long *u*, *plerūzzun*, and this may be for **pleruozzun*. Cf. Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 40, Anm. 1.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

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